

Delegation to get hearing for Curtis case in Geneva

BY SUSIE BERMAN

GENEVA, Switzerland — "I'm here on behalf of a defense committee in the United States, the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Mark is my husband. He is a union and political activist who was falsely accused of rape and burglary. He was beaten by the police. And after an unfair trial, where key evidence was not brought into the case, Mark was convicted and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment."

This is how Kate Kaku explained Mark Curtis' case to a meeting of representatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) held here during the 42nd Session of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The subcommission is a committee of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Curtis, a young packinghouse worker in Des Moines, Iowa, was framed up in 1988 after helping defend 17 immigrant coworkers, victims of an immigration raid at the plant where he worked.

Kaku and John Studer, the coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, are heading an international delegation of Curtis supporters at the subcommission meeting. Their goal is to help lay the basis for the packinghouse worker's case to be heard by the UN Commission on Human Rights.

The Commission on Human Rights is a central world forum on human rights. It discusses violations of legal rights, torture, and racial discrimination. It also in-

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Socialists win disclosure exemption

BY RONI McCANN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — At a public hearing here August 16 the Federal Election Commission voted 5-0 to grant committees supporting Socialist Workers Party candidates in federal elections an exemption from disclosing the names of financial contributors and recipients of campaign funds.

A draft advisory opinion signed by FEC chairperson Lee Ann Elliot stated, "The recent events . . . along with the history of governmental harassment, indicate that there is a reasonable probability that compelled disclosure of the names, addresses, occupations, and names of employers . . . will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from

For full text of election commission decision see page 10. Socialist Workers national campaign statement, page 3.

governmental or private sources."

Commissioner John Warren McGarry summarized the advisory opinion, noting "the significant record of private harassment since 1987." After a brief discussion, all seated commissioners voted affirmatively.

The disclosure exemption, which lasts until Dec. 31, 1996, allows SWP campaign committees to withhold the names of individuals who give money for the socialist candidates' campaigns and the names of individuals to whom SWP campaign committees might also disperse monies for services such as printing or the rental of office space.

U.S. steps up war moves in Arab East

35,000 U.S. troops landed

BY SAMAD SHARIF

The largest deployment of U.S. military forces since the Vietnam War is under way in the Arabian Peninsula and the surrounding waters. More than 35,000 troops have already landed and taken positions in Saudi Arabia; about the same number are in 59 ships nearby or bound there; one-quarter of the 200,000 active-duty U.S. marines are now stationed in the Arab East or are on their way.

The Pentagon has commandeered 38 wide-body jets from 16 airlines to rush troops and cargo to the region. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has declined to rule out the possibility that U.S. forces may be in Saudi Arabia for years, but he said, "The commitment is long."

President George Bush announced August 22 he will be calling up the reserves. The

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U.S. soldiers in Saudi Arabia. Some 50,000 active-duty marines are there or on way.

Protest threats against Iraq!

Pressing ahead with the military occupation of the Arabian Peninsula and the naval blockade of Iraq, U.S. President George Bush called on working people in the United States to make a "personal sacrifice" in order to "protect our world from fundamental evil."

As the big-business press churned out anti-Arab propaganda, such as Bush's comparison of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler, the administration mounted the biggest mobilization of U.S. military forces since the Vietnam War, commanded 38 civilian aircraft, and called up some 40,000 reservists for duty in the operation.

These steps toward a shooting war in the region are aimed at restoring the Kuwaiti

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royal family to its throne and toppling the Iraqi government of Saddam.

Bush has the support of both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Those in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, such as Jesse Jackson and Sen. Patrick Moynihan, applauded the massive military deployment.

This bipartisan support reflects the U.S. rulers' determination to use military force, when they can get away with it, wherever their economic, military, or political interests are threatened.

Working people in the United States have no common interests with their employers at Exxon, Eastern Airlines, or General Motors and have fought union-busting and the imposition of deep concessions in the workplace. Nor are there any common interests between the government's aims to protect Big Oil by going to war in the Arab East and the needs and interests of working people. The U.S. government will send working people in uniform to die in combat, use "national security concerns" to crack down on democratic rights, and gouge workers at the gas pump with super-inflated prices.

Widespread opposition to these moves by Washington has already been expressed in demonstrations protesting the imperialists' steps toward war throughout the Arab East. Millions in the area who have suffered under

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Eastern strikers mobilize forces to participate in Labor Day

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

The 18-month strike by 8,500 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) against Eastern Airlines has scored important victories over the past few months. Actions by striking locals of the IAM since early August highlight the strength of the strike and the blows dealt to the air carrier.

These victories and continuing indications of a pending buyout of strike-battered Eastern have widened discussions on the strike among airline workers — including those at Continental Airlines — and have buoyed public support for the giant labor battle.

In early August, striking Machinists organized a series of expanded picket lines, human billboards, and airport walk-throughs in a

number of cities, drawing not only strikers, but other trade unionists as well. Strikers report that their picket lines and information tables have been getting a better response at airports across the country.

In New York, 250 Eastern strikers and other trade unionists formed human billboards across an overpass leading to La Guardia Airport on August 4, and an August 3 demonstration outside Eastern's Gate No. 1 in Miami drew 125 strikers and supporters.

A walk-through in the Washington, D.C., National Airport drew 75 people, and an expanded picket line of 40 unionists and supporters was held at the Baltimore-Washington International Airport on August 4.

On August 4, Boston strikers held an ex-Continued on Page 12

Long history of systematic harassment'

The advisory opinion approved at the FEC hearing referred extensively to the 25-page letter submitted July 2 on behalf of the SWP by its general counsel, Edward Copeland of Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky & Lieberman in New York.

It states that in granting the exemption, as in previous decisions, the commission considered both "present" and historical harassment.

In response to Copeland's letter, the decision states, "You describe the long history of FBI and other governmental harassment of

'Militant' coverage on Mideast spurs sales



Some 150 people protested U.S. intervention in the Mideast August 13 in Seattle

BY RONI McCANN

As in many other cities across the country, supporters in Austin, Minnesota, had all but sold out their week's worth of *Militants* after one day of community sales and sales to coworkers. "Along with buying a copy of the paper because of the extensive coverage on the U.S. military buildup in the Arab East," said one salesperson, "many people just wanted to talk about the situation."

Two farmers, young people, and three coworkers of *Militant* supporters in Austin were among the 12 people who picked up copies of the paper at grocery stores, a meatpacking plant, and the Pathfinder Bookstore there.

Militant Business Manager Janet Post said many supporters around the country, including in Austin, raised their weekly bundles. "Supporters projected a good response to the coverage on the U.S. war preparations against Iraq and had ordered extra papers or made special orders after the first day of sales," she said. "On August 20 alone, extra orders of *Militants* were sent out to 16 cities."

In New York supporters have had discussions on the job and with Eastern strikers on the picket line. One supporter at Trans World Airlines said many workers question the war moves but conclude this is "something we have to do."

A layer of workers who fear they themselves might have to go are opposed to the U.S. intervention. One ramp worker said he would rather go to jail than fight for the United States. "Ever since we stopped Britain from messing with us we've messed with every other country and I'm not with it!" Another worker asked how cold it got in Canada.

On the picket line August 16 at New York's

La Guardia Airport, Eastern strikers and their supporters discussed the war preparations. One picket felt Washington's action was justified since the oil "was important for our economy" but stated he would have to "wait to read the *Militant* to see what it said."

Along with community sales and getting the paper out on the job, *Militant* supporters also attended numerous protests and demonstrations around the country.

Some 200 people in the Los Angeles area demonstrated at the Federal Building in Westwood August 17 where more than 20 copies of the *Militant* were sold.

In Cleveland, 40 people held a picket line protesting the war. They carried placards reading, "GIs shouldn't die for Big Oil" and "U.S. out of Mideast!" The action was covered by three television stations and the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*.

Washington, D.C., supporters sold 27 copies of the *Militant* August 18 while petitioning to place socialist candidates on the ballot. An action called by the Washington Peace Center had taken place in the capital immediately following the massive deployment of U.S. forces.

In Minneapolis, 50 people picketed August 8 in front of the Federal Building protesting the U.S. intervention. The action was called by Women Against Military Madness (WAMM) and the Emergency Committee on the Persian Gulf. WAMM spokesperson Lucia Wilkes condemned U.S. President George Bush's moves in the region. "This is the president who invaded Panama eight months ago to install a puppet government," she reminded protesters.

Seattle teach-in

Militant supporters in Seattle sold 22 copies of the paper on street corners August 18. A coalition there has been formed to protest Washington's intervention in the Middle East. It held a teach-in August 11 attended by 40 people. On August 13 a picket line outside the federal courthouse, sponsored by numerous organizations, drew 150 people, including a U.S. marines reservist from the Camp Pendleton base in southern California. A demonstration has been called for September 8.

Many supporters have planned public forums to speak out against the U.S. intervention. In New Zealand successful meetings of this kind were held August 18 in Auckland and Christchurch.

Forty-seven people attended the forum in Auckland, which featured a panel of speakers that included a well-known peace activist, a New Labour Party spokesperson, a representative of the African National Congress, a spokesperson from the Communist League, and veteran trade unionist Jock Barnes.

After describing the history of U.S. and British intervention in the Middle East, Barnes concluded that the only answer "is for the workers of the world to protest against this war."

Battle-ready Canadian troops surround Mohawk communities near Montréal

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTRÉAL, Canada — Mohawk communities in Kahnawake and Kanesatake (Oka) near Montréal are now surrounded by Canadian army troops in full battle gear and equipped with machine guns, helicopters,

For background on Indians' fight for land, see page 15.

and armored personnel carriers with sophisticated antitank weapons.

The 900 troops were called in by the Québec government August 20 to replace Québec provincial cops (SQ) who have been in an armed standoff with the Mohawks since July 11, when the SQ assaulted a barricade in Kanesatake erected to prevent the expansion of a golf club on Native land. An SQ

cop was killed in the raid. In a solidarity action Kahnawake Mohawks closed the Mercier bridge, a key commuter link to Montréal island.

To defend their communities from the SQ and the army, Mohawks led by the Warrior Society have armed themselves and fortified their barricades.

For the first time since July 11, talks have begun between Mohawk and federal and Québec provincial government representatives on the central demands of the Mohawks.

Mohawk negotiators have drafted a peace treaty addressed to the federal and Québec governments, which calls for the recognition of a sovereign Mohawk nation with the right to self-determination. The document proposes a three-year transition to sovereignty after the barricades are lifted and warns that "if Canada still responds to our demands with

its police and army, we will be forced to defend our territory and our people."

As the Mohawk struggle continues Native people across Canada are continuing to carry out solidarity actions and to raise their own land claims and other demands. For several days Native blockades in northern Ontario severed the two trans-Canada rail lines. Algonquin Indians in northern Québec have blockaded a main highway. In British Columbia rail lines have also been blockaded.

In Montréal the Solidarity Coalition with Native People has called an August 22 demonstration "for the recognition of Native peoples demands" and "against army and police intervention." In the event of a military assault by the army on the Mohawks, the coalition will organize an emergency mobilization for the same day. The coalition's phone number is (514) 598-2007.

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JOHN LANGFORD

Recording secretary, United Steelworkers Local 8319 Tooele County, Utah

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Socialist Workers candidates fight for ballot access

BY YVONNE HAYES

Socialist campaigners in Washington, D.C., petitioning to put candidates on the ballot in November, found increased interest in their ideas as they fanned out in the streets of the U.S. capital on August 18. Their clear stand in opposition to the U.S. invasion of the Arab East helped convince nearly 1,700 people to sign to put Socialist Workers Party candidates Ike Nahem and Sam Manuel, both rail workers, on the ballot.

In Washington, the law requires the candidates to collect 3,000 signatures. Nahem is running for mayor and Manuel for U.S. Senator.

The SWP slate in Washington also includes Susan Winsten, an Eastern Airlines striker and candidate for nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives, and Young Socialist Alliance leaders Emily Fitzsimmons and Dan Furman, who are running for U.S. Senator and U.S. Congressperson, positions created by the city, whose residents are denied federal representation.

"While it was not rare for someone to argue that the United States should fight to protect 'our' oil," Winsten said about the August 18 petitioning efforts, "it was far more common for an individual to grab the pen and sign when we explained the socialist candidates oppose young workers dying to protect Exxon's profits." Of those who signed, 27 bought copies of the *Militant* to learn more, and three bought copies of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Five people who first met the socialists on the street that day stopped by the Pathfinder Bookstore later on and several stayed for a campaign forum on the U.S. war in the Arab East given by mayoral candidate Nahem. One woman was especially interested in the Cuban revolution. A man who had just emigrated from Pakistan pointed to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, regarding Iraq, given the U.S. invasions of Grenada and Panama.

Another signer, a young Black man recently discharged from the navy who did a stint in the Persian Gulf, said his experience had changed his thinking. He is a supporter of the Arab people's fight for sovereignty and control of their natural resources.

The ballot drive in the District of Columbia extends through August 25. So far, 3,104 signatures have been gathered for Manuel and 2,687 for Nahem.

Good response from Iowa workers

Similar efforts are under way in a number of states where the SWP is fielding slates of candidates. In Iowa a victory was scored August 17 when SWP gubernatorial candidate Nan Bailey was certified to be on the ballot.

Bailey submitted 1,586 signatures on petitions, well over the 1,000 legally required. She heads a statewide slate that includes Jason Redrup for lieutenant governor, Sara Lobman for secretary of state, Shellia Kennedy for attorney general, Priscilla Schenk for secretary of agriculture, Linda Marcus for treasurer, and Jon Bixby for auditor. The SWP is also running Ted Leonard for U.S. Senate and Héctor Marroquín for U.S. House of Representatives. Mark Curtis, a framed-up union activist imprisoned in Fort Madison, Iowa, is the state chairperson of the campaign.

"Winning ballot status for Bailey involved a two-week petitioning effort," explained Marroquín, "reaching out to working people in the cities and countryside as well as to students and political activists."

"The response from working people was extraordinary," he said. "At the Swift meatpacking plant where Bailey works, we gathered over 40 signatures and then got 110 more at a picnic sponsored by her local of the meat-packer's union."

"My coworkers were excited to see a fellow meat-packer running for office," Bailey explained. "Not only did they sign, but



Militant/Jon Flanders

Socialist candidate for governor of New York, Craig Gannon (left), fielded questions from reporters outside state capitol in Albany August 22 on his way to file petitions for ballot status. Joined by Susan Annuth (center), an Eastern Airlines striker and candidate for lieutenant governor, and Derek Bracey (right), running for attorney general, the SWP candidate submitted nearly 30,000 signatures, well above the 20,000 required to put the Socialist Workers Party ticket on the ballot. Reporters from TV and radio stations and newspapers were especially interested in SWP candidates' opposition to U.S. war moves in the Arab East.

many brought over others to sign up too."

Marroquín reported that campaigners also went to Iowa Beef Products plants in Perry and Waterloo, Iowa. IBPhas 18 plants nationally. Five of them are organized by the meat-packer's union, two just this year. Thirty signatures were collected at the plant gate in Perry and 83 people signed petitions at the Waterloo plant gate. Nine *Militants* were sold in the course of campaigning at these gates.

Redrup had a similar response from his coworkers. Of the 200 people he works with, almost 100 of them signed the petitions.

Washington State ballot fight

The SWP has also scored a victory in Seattle, winning ballot spots for its congressional candidate Robbie Scherr, and for Stuart Crome who is running for city council.

A few hours after Scherr filed 1,800 signatures with the King County Board of Elections — well over the 966 required — the county informed her they had checked one-third of the signatures and that only 200 were "valid." Scherr, a rail worker, contacted the superintendent of elections at the state capital, who informed her the county was not legally authorized to accept the petitions and that the state voters' pamphlet was in error for instructing candidates to file there.

Supporters of the campaign and the media were contacted. The Board of Elections was swamped with protest calls. As the pressure mounted, more irregularities in the board's procedures were found.

On the day before the deadline, the SWP campaign was informed that the requirement was 1,200 signatures, not 966 as outlined in the state's written material. A protest statement was sent to the secretary of state, signed by African National Congress member Fred Dube; a member of the Seattle Leonard Peltier Support Group, Mary McLaughlin; Kim Ramsey, president of International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 1002; Jo Linda Stephens, chair of the Justice for Tyrone Briggs Association; Hazel Wolf, a prominent environmental activist; and others. "Your approach endangers the rights of all to freely hear from and choose among candidates and points of view," they said.

On July 31 the state Board of Elections informed Scherr she would be placed on the ballot but that the more than 1,500 signatures filed by Crome only four days earlier were 99 short of the required 584 "valid" signatures.

Crome — a member of the IUE — and his supporters visited the election board office, demanding a recount. "We discovered that the signature of one of my campaign supporters was rejected as 'not registered' to vote, even though the records show he is registered," Crome said.

Under pressure, the board agreed to recount the names and allow more petitions to be submitted. "We gathered about 270 more signatures on August 3," Crome said. "And after several hours, the campaign committee was notified I would be placed on the ballot."

SWP national campaign hails victory of exemption from election fund law

Responding to an August 16 ruling by the Federal Election Commission, the following statement was issued in Washington, D.C., by James Warren, chairperson of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. At a news conference August 23 at the National Press Club, Warren was joined by candidates of the Socialist Workers Party running in the November elections in the District of Columbia.

For the text of the FEC ruling see pages



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Socialist Workers national campaign chairperson James Warren was the SWP candidate for U.S. president in 1988.

10 and 11. A related news article begins on the front page.

We have just won an important victory for democratic rights.

On August 16 the Federal Election Commission in a unanimous decision granted an exemption to the Socialist Workers Party campaigns from disclosure of the names of contributors to, or recipients of payments from, SWP campaign committees. Such disclosure is required under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

"Recent events," the FEC stated, "along with the history of governmental harassment, indicate that there is a reasonable probability that compelled disclosure of the names, addresses, occupations, and names of employers" of contributors to SWP campaigns "will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisal from governmental or private sources."

This is a victory not just for the SWP and its supporters, but for working people and their organizations across the United States. It strengthens the rights to privacy and voluntary political association, rights which are vital to those fighting for justice such as Eastern Airlines strikers, opponents of Washington's war moves in the Arab East, and defenders of Black and women's rights.

Ostensibly designed to fight the corruption and fraud that is rampant in capitalist politics, the disclosure laws are actually a handle to intervene in the affairs of the SWP and other working-class organizations. Campaign committee reports are public record. As such, they are an easy source of hit lists for the government, private spy agencies, and other antilabor outfits.

For this reason the Socialist Workers Party has never handed over the names of its

supporters. We fought for and won exemption in the courts from disclosure of our contributors in 1979 and of recipients of payments from our campaign committees in 1985.

Democratic rights are never guaranteed. Working people must continually fight for them and for the political space in which to use them. Victories like this open up space for workers and farmers in struggle and can become part of the foundation of struggles to further extend our rights.

In fact, the text of the FEC decision shows how this ruling was based on previous efforts by the SWP and other organizations to win political space. In particular it is founded on the victory scored in 1986 by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance in their historic suit against government spying, *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*.

The burden of being forced to spend resources on the fight to win exemption under the disclosure laws is an onerous one. Money for legal fees and time taken to gather the facts to support the case for exemption could better be spent addressing other issues of importance to working-class fighters today.

We would like to thank our attorney Edward Copeland of Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky & Lieberman in New York and the many campaign supporters who provided affidavits on examples of harassment in recent years for their contribution to this victory. The FEC decision was clearly based on the body of evidence compiled through their efforts.

The SWP will continue to oppose the application of the federal campaign financing laws to any working-class party or candidate. And we encourage other fighters to take this victory and make it their own.

Eastern strike, world events, prospects for communism top socialist parley's agenda

Socialist Workers conclude 35th national convention deliberations in Ohio

BY PETER THIERJUNG

OBELIN, Ohio — Political developments of worldwide significance — from the deployment of tens of thousands of U.S. troops in the Mideast to the fall of corporate head Frank Lorenzo at Continental Airlines — provided the backdrop to the second session of the 35th National Convention of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party held here August 8-12.

The first session took place in Chicago in June. Some 750 people attended the second session.

SWP leader and *Militant* staff writer Roni McCann opened the convention and welcomed participants. Applause rang out as she greeted striking Eastern Airlines workers in attendance. More than 80 percent of the delegates were members of industrial unions. Workers, students, and political activists from the United States and around the world, as well as members of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance, were among the convention participants.

McCann explained that the convention was the culmination of five-and-a-half months of organized discussion and debate to analyze U.S. and world politics and to determine party policy and activities in the next period. Twenty-four bulletins with almost 100 written contributions were produced to facilitate the discussion, which focused on four major documents submitted by the SWP National Committee.

Discussion and debate on parts of these resolutions was organized weekly, and sometimes more often, in SWP branches. McCann said party members' experiences in trade union activities, strike struggles, petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot in several cities and states, and winning new readers for the socialist press enriched the discussion.

International co-thinkers

Co-thinkers of the SWP in Communist Leagues in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden also discussed the resolutions and sent fraternal delegates to participate in the convention deliberations.

Five major reports and 19 hours of discussion comprised the convention agenda. The reports addressed the importance of the Eastern Airlines strike to U.S. and world politics, the disintegration of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the coming revolution in South Africa, the erosion and overturn of the workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua, and the Leninist strategy of building communist workers' parties today.

The proceedings were simultaneously translated from English into four other languages: Spanish, French, Farsi, and Swedish.

Einstein Louison, a central leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement on the Caribbean island of Grenada, attended and greeted convention delegates on behalf of his party. He was the chief of staff of the armed forces of Grenada during the 1979-83 revolution headed by Maurice Bishop.

The MBPM leader had been imprisoned by the Stalinist faction headed by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, which murdered Bishop and overthrew the revolutionary government in 1983. Louison escaped and was again imprisoned during the invasion and occupation of the island by U.S. troops following the Coard coup. Until recently, Louison had been denied a passport by the Grenadian government, and the U.S. State Department had barred him from entering the United States.

His ability to attend the socialist gathering was a big victory for the right of free travel.

The test of events

"One of the best tests for any set of resolutions and for any political evaluation is what's actually happening in the world as you are discussing them," SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes said in his summary of the convention discussions at the closing session.

Barnes pointed to August 9 news reports of a massive belt-tightening program being imposed on workers and farmers in Peru,

where gasoline prices rose up to 3,000 percent, and how possible similar measures brought instability and threats of a military coup to the surface in Venezuela. These are indications that the world crisis of capitalism is deepening and are proof that "oppression and austerity of the most brutal kind are in store for the great majority on the face of the earth," Barnes told convention participants.

The end of the Cold War, agreements between the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, and collaboration by the United Nations will not produce peace and stability, he said.

"The target of the rulers in Washington and their allies around the world is to go to war," the SWP leader said about unfolding developments in the Mideast. They want "to teach the masses in the Arab East that either they give imperialism an 'Arab face' or they will be crushed by force of arms. But there is no way on earth, if they reach that stage, they can possibly finish the job they set out to do," he said.

Struggles unresolved during the decades of the Cold War, like those in the Mideast, will more and more come to the fore, Barnes said. "The imperialists will resist. They will engage the masses. There will be defeats. There will be standoffs. There will be victories and all of this will draw the workers of this country into the battle." The outcome of these battles will change the character of world politics, he said.

Eastern Airlines strike

Placing the Eastern Airlines strike in this world framework is important, Barnes said. The strike has weight "because of its place in a chain" of international developments.

"The stakes were never Eastern alone. We must not see it connected simply to the labor movement," Barnes said. "We must not even see it as a phenomenon in this country, but as a concrete reflection and example of the real situation in the world, the real interconnections, and the real capacities and incapacities of contending social classes that do battle day-in and day-out on a world scale."

Ernie Mailhot presented a report on the Eastern strike on behalf of the SWP Political Committee. "After 17 months in this important labor battle, the victor is clear," he said. "The rank-and-file fighters in the International Association of Machinists are winning the fight at Eastern Airlines. They have stopped the creation of another nonunion Continental."

Mailhot, who is the Eastern strike coordinator at La Guardia International Airport in New York, said the strike, along with the victory of the United Mine Workers against the Pittston Coal Group earlier this year, made "union-busting a much more difficult proposition" for employers everywhere.

During the convention, news reports announced that the former head of Eastern Airlines, Frank Lorenzo, had also been driven from his post as chief executive of Continental Airlines in a buyout deal by Scandinavian Airlines System. The strike at Eastern was launched to draw the line against the union-busting imposed by Lorenzo at Continental just a few years ago, Barnes said in his summary of the convention.

"The strike has not only put Eastern Airlines on the ropes and prepared the next stage of what has been a series of victories," he told the delegates. "It is now in the process of drawing other airlines and their workers into this battle" — from Northwest Airlines, which may buy out Eastern, to Continental and SAS of Sweden.

Seeing the Eastern strike through to its final victorious conclusion with other rank-and-file fighters is the main challenge and campaign before the entire SWP, Barnes said.

Defeats for U.S. imperialism

In a report on the World Political Resolution adopted by the delegates, Barnes assessed the significance of the end of the Cold War and the shattering of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

"The judgment that world capitalism suf-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Delegates to socialist convention discussed and adopted four major resolutions assessing world politics, South Africa, Nicaragua, and building communist parties.

fered a historic defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and that U.S. imperialism lost the Cold War, thus changing the relationship of class forces" on a world scale is the centerpiece of the SWP's evaluation, Barnes said.

The imposition of the Cold War as a strategic military course on U.S. imperialism and its allies was itself a victory for working people, the SWP leader said, because the alternative was a hot war. U.S. armed forces would have thrust into Eastern Europe with the aim of finishing what German imperialist armies were unable to accomplish in their World War II invasion of the Soviet Union — the overturn of state property relations and the reintroduction of capitalist exploitation and plunder, he said.

An imperialist assault on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was impossible, however, because the Soviet army and the conquests of workers and farmers in overturning capitalist relations proved formidable obstacles, Barnes said.

"The only avenue open to the imperialists to keep these workers out of politics, out of the world" was by using the Stalinist regimes and middle-class castes that had fastened themselves onto those societies in bureaucratic counterrevolutions, he said.

These regimes policed the Soviet and Eastern European working classes, preventing them from becoming "an independent factor" in world politics. They denied working people the democratic rights won even in capitalist countries, and proved to be the greatest obstacle to building socialism and involving working people in real politics, Barnes said.

No automatic bias toward socialism

"There is no automatic bias" toward socialism in state property relations, the SWP leader said. "When working people appropriate the exploiters, it opens the door for the construction of socialism. We must walk through it as a thinking, organizing, active class."

The bureaucratic castes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe could "only rule by the whip," Barnes said, because their domination and privileged positions rested on keeping workers out of politics. "The whip, the threat of murder, devastating repression, depolitization — none of this can lead to creativity by the producers. It's impossible. It never has and it will not. Why work harder? Why create? There is no reason, not even the reasons under capitalism."

"Terms like 'socialist camp' or 'socialist countries' are all a political fraud based on a socioeconomic lie," he said.

This has led in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to "the utter unthinkable ecological destruction comparable to

imperialism's rape of the Third World; population policies in which women are objects, not political people; the destruction of the chance to develop productivity"; and other disasters, he said.

"The bureaucracy defends nationalized property to that degree that it defends its own interests and in a manner which leads to the destruction of this property," Barnes said. "The policy, domestic and foreign, of the Soviet bureaucracy brings, in the last instance, more harm than advantages to the USSR.

"No strategic position ever conquered by the Soviet Union or the bureaucracy," said Barnes, "weighs as much as what is lost in the sympathy and political consciousness" of the world's toilers because of the bureaucracy's methods and crimes. This was explained over and over again some 50 years ago by Bolshevik-Leninists, foremost among them Leon Trotsky, who fought to continue the communist course of Lenin's time, he added.

Bureaucratic management, planning

The bureaucratic management and planning of the Stalinist regimes inevitably leads to the disintegration of society. "This tendency is inevitable," Barnes said, "but it does not take place in a vacuum. It cannot be taken out of the world."

"It was the working class that stood up finally and, in all the various ways it could find, said no," bringing down the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe, the SWP leader said. "It was a working class that wasn't a socialist-minded one. It was a working class that probably in its great majority had less trade union consciousness" than workers in the imperialist countries.

But "it was this working class that could not be turned into the abject creatures" the Stalinist regimes had to have to continue their domination, Barnes said. "The very attempts and efforts by the capitalists to draw these toilers into the world for exploitation will also draw them into the world of working-class politics," he said. The imperialist rulers "can't have one without the other."

The working classes of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have not been crushed or defeated, Barnes said. They have not been devastated by the Stalinist regime's police apparatus. Imperialism, he said, now "has to directly deal with a working class that will resist, like all working classes resist," the effects of the capitalist system.

Cold War targeted U.S. workers

The second target of the Cold War was the working class of the United States, the SWP leader said. Following World War II, the United States witnessed a resurgence of com-

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Socialist testifies at UN against colonial status of Puerto Rico

The following is a statement by the Socialist Workers Party presented at a United Nations hearing on the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The UN's Special Committee on Decolonization discussed the issue of Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and on August 15 voted to reaffirm its position, first taken in 1972, that the U.S. colony has the right to independence. The SWP statement was presented in Spanish by Selva Nebbia on August 15, the second day of the committee's hearing. Nebbia is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's 15th District.

Distinguished Chairman:
Members of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization:

As others have documented very well in their testimony here, Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. For 400 years a colony of Spain, this Caribbean island came under U.S. colonial rule more than 90 years ago.

The barbarity of this relationship is highlighted by the fact that the great majority of people living under colonial rule in this century have broken from their masters and established scores of independent countries — most of them since the end of World War II. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Oceania, and the Americas have successfully fought against their colonial oppressors. From India to Grenada and from Iraq to Indonesia, independence struggles helped bring down vast colonial empires centered in Europe.

Just in the last year, after decades of colonial rule, Namibia in southern Africa won its independence from South Africa's apartheid regime.

Breaking the yoke of colonial oppression has put the peoples of these countries in a stronger position to continue the struggle toward full independence from imperialist oppression.

Puerto Ricans, however, remain one of the

peoples living under the economic, social, and political subservience of direct colonial rule. They face the same plight as several millions of others in Hong Kong, New Caledonia, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guam, Curaçao, Las Malvinas, and elsewhere who remain under colonial domination.

The United States, itself formed by 13 colonies that broke from British rule more than 200 years ago, is today the only country in the Americas that has colonies.

Distinguished chairman:
What has colonialism meant for Puerto Rico?

That the rich have gotten richer and the poor poorer. Washington boasts that Operation Bootstrap, an economic program launched in Puerto Rico in the late 1940s, turned the island into a showcase. Even though Puerto Rico's economic growth and industrial development was far greater than most other countries in the region, the benefits were distributed very unequally. Social inequalities in Puerto Rico have deepened and the difference between living standards in even the poorest state in the United States and Puerto Rico have widened. Per capita income is less than half the U.S. average.

The devastating conditions on the island have led to the division of the Puerto Rican nation, with four out of every 10 Puerto Ricans forced to emigrate to the United States in search of work and a living wage. There are currently 2.5 million Puerto Ricans living in the United States, and they are among the most oppressed in this country.

In the countryside, colonialism has driven the vast majority of Puerto Rican farmers off the land, so that today Puerto Rico, a rich and verdant land, must import nearly 90 percent of its food supply.

U.S. colonialism has meant the abridgment and denial of the democratic rights of the Puerto Rican people. More than 100,000 names of Puerto Ricans are on the FBI's so-called subversive lists, and dozens of



May 1 labor protest in San Juan, Puerto Rico, opposed privatizing of island's telephone companies. Selva Nebbia at the UN decolonization hearing said that workers in Puerto Rico and the United States have a common enemy — the U.S. billionaire families that dominate both countries.

Militant/Steve Halpern

Puerto Ricans have been framed up and are serving outrageous sentences in U.S. prisons for supporting the independence of their country — fighters such as Alejandrina Torres, who has been subjected to the most inhuman conditions while incarcerated, and the many other political prisoners who are confined hundreds of miles away from their families and communities.

Colonial rule accelerated the degradation of Puerto Rico's environment. Thousands of acres of rain forest have been destroyed and the rest are endangered. The island's waters, land, and air have been polluted by big, multinational chemical and oil corporations that have been given massive tax breaks, as well as free reign of the island.

Distinguished chairman:
Colonialism means the presence of U.S. military occupation forces on the island, with more than 13 percent of its territory usurped by U.S. military bases. Today, for example, the U.S. Navy claims more than two-thirds of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. And located in Puerto Rico's harbors are submarines carrying nuclear weapons.

Since World War II a significant working class has emerged in Puerto Rico and recently there have been signs of growing struggles. This was seen last March when tens of thousands of workers staged a one-day protest strike and mobilized more than 100,000 Puerto Rican workers and their supporters in the streets of San Juan. Their demand was common to many demonstrations throughout Latin America today: "No to the privatization of public services!" The protesters denounced the proposed sale of the two government-owned telephone companies.

The more than 500-day strike by the International Association of Machinists against Eastern Airlines has been the most important recent test whether the airlines, and indeed of whether all U.S. employers, are going to be able to get away with their attempts to bust unions and reorganize on a nonunion

basis. And from the beginning this has been an international fight that included Eastern workers in Puerto Rico, Canada, and Bermuda, as well as the United States.

This struggle has deepened solidarity between unionists in the United States and Puerto Rico, and Puerto Rican workers are reaching across the borders to forge more links. Just a couple of weeks ago a delegation of workers from the Puerto Rican telephone company held a picket line in downtown Manhattan with fellow unionists from the Communications Workers of America in the United States. They also joined more than 200 Eastern strikers and their supporters at La Guardia Airport a couple of days later to express their solidarity with this strike.

These links and bridges that are being built between workers in Puerto Rico and workers in the United States help to break down the walls colonial domination has erected between them. They undermine racism and deal blows to the national chauvinism of U.S. workers. And they help reinforce the truth that working people in Puerto Rico and in the United States have a common enemy in the billionaire families that dominate economic and political life in both countries. U.S. workers have no stake in the colonial domination of Puerto Rico and can and will be won over to the fight against Washington's colonial oppression of the island.

Puerto Rican freedom fighters

Two months ago, when New York was welcoming South African freedom fighter Nelson Mandela, Puerto Rican freedom fighters too came out and joined the hundreds of thousands here in the celebration, making the struggle against apartheid their own.

Distinguished chairman:

Today, after 92 years of domination over Puerto Rico, the U.S. government argues that the United Nations committee should bring the moral weight of its decision to bear, that it should not condemn this outright violation of the UN Charter's clear stand against colonialism. Washington argues as it did last year that this committee should withhold judgment because a committee of the U.S. Congress is considering holding a plebiscite on Puerto Rico's future status.

Throughout the history of colonialism, the ruling powers have sought to cloak their domination behind a plebiscite.

These votes are taken under restrictive conditions where repression and intimidation are aimed at every independence advocate and proindependence organization. And the blackmail of economic reprisal is leveled against the entire population.

Whatever the U.S. Congress may decide concerning a plebiscite, including whether or not it is binding and who may or may not participate in it, this should not prevent members of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization from recognizing and condemning the ongoing U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico. The perpetration of this domination is contrary to the interests of the people of the United States, and indeed of all the world's people.

Distinguished chairman:

The United Nations has the moral and political obligation to approve the resolution reaffirming Puerto Rico's right to self-determination, and condemning Washington's continued domination of the island.

I would like to thank the distinguished chairman and members of this committee for the opportunity to appear before these hearings.

Young Socialists meet, set goals for fall

BY ANGEL LARISCY

OBERLIN, Ohio — Members of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee and representatives from chapters and organizing committees in 19 cities met here August 12 to discuss campaigns and activi-



Militant/Arthur Hughes
YSA National Secretary Heather Randle

ties through the end of the year.

YSA National Secretary Heather Randle gave a report on the Socialist Workers Party's election campaigns and building the YSA. She opened the report by pointing to the big events taking place around the world, from the actions of millions of workers against the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe to the millions fighting apartheid in South Africa.

Randle also noted the victories scored in the Machinists strike at Eastern Airlines. "The strike has helped to beat back union-busting," Randle said. "We've been on the picket lines and building support for the strike the past 17 months."

"Today because of the struggles we see more real openings to build the YSA and win new members than there have been in a decade," Randle said. "More people are interested in our ideas and discussing them."

One example of the interest in socialism was the response to the national tour of Cuban economist and author Carlos Tablada, the YSA leader said. He spoke to over 3,700 students, workers, and political activists, visiting 28 university campuses during his six-week tour in April and May.

YSA leaders from around the country described the success of the recent YSA national class series on apartheid. The series

was organized following the U.S. tour by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

In New York classes on the Eastern Airlines strike, the *Communist Manifesto*, and the Cuban revolution were organized during a petitioning effort to collect 30,000 signatures to get SWP candidates on the ballot. Many young people signed the petitions, bought copies of the *Militant*, and attended the classes. YSA members from around the country helped lead the campaign effort.

The SWP will be running slates of candidates in 23 states and Washington, D.C. In Connecticut the socialist candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state are members of the YSA.

"The best action we can take now is to reach out to youth with the SWP election campaigns and explain our ideas," Randle said. "Through this experience, YSA members will get a better understanding of world politics."

Members of the YSA's National Executive Committee will travel across the country this fall speaking on why youth should support the socialist campaigns. A brochure on the YSA's support for these campaigns will also be published. The National Committee voted to launch a fund to raise money to finance these activities.

UNION DE TRABAJADORES
BANCO DE LA VIVIENDA
PRESENTE Y SOLIDARIA



UNION DE TRABAJADORES
BANCO DE LA VIVIENDA
PRESENTE Y SOLIDARIA

Kate Kaku discusses Mark Curtis defense

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — Kate Kaku is Mark Curtis' staunchest supporter and advocate. She has logged tens of thousands of miles visiting several continents to enlist solidarity and support for his fight for justice.

Since Curtis' arrest and frame-up at the hands of Des Moines, Iowa, police, Kaku has been helping to lead the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and its efforts. She has been married to Curtis since 1985. Prison bars have separated the couple for almost two years now.

Curtis, a unionist and political activist, was framed-up on rape and burglary charges. He was convicted in a September 1988 trial where his constitutional rights were violated. He is now serving a 25-year sentence in the John Bennett state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Kaku is in Geneva, Switzerland, attending a subcommission meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Along with an international delegation of supporters there, she is seeking to advance the defense committee's long-term campaign to bring Curtis' case before the UN.

In a July 28 interview with the *Militant*, Kaku described her activities during a visit here to prepare for the subcommission meeting.

Curtis' fight becoming known

"We've been able to have more than 21 meetings here with representatives of human rights organizations affiliated to nongovernmental organizations, supporters of democratic rights, and other individuals," Kaku said. Because Curtis' fight is becoming more known, "it's been easy to get meetings and discussions. Some people have referred us to other individuals and organizations" who can be of help.

Some of the meetings were with people who are already on board as endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, she explained. Others were first-time meetings to win new support.

"Many of them were outraged at the harassment lawsuit against Mark and myself," Kaku said. The parents of the woman Curtis allegedly assaulted filed the suit in November 1989 to get a lifelong financial judgment against Curtis and Kaku.

On July 5, four days before the trial in the lawsuit, the Iowa attorney general's office intervened in the case to prevent Curtis from appearing at the trial. "One longtime supporter was livid when she heard that Mark had been excluded from his own trial," Kaku said.

The defense committee leader said her visit to New York helped open some new doors and will put the defense committee on

a better footing for the Geneva subcommission meeting.

Kaku, 29, was born in Japan. Her grandfather, an immigrant from that country to the United States, had been a small farmer in Southern California prior to World War II. He was among the tens of thousands of Japanese Americans who were thrown in internment camps and had their property and land confiscated by the U.S. government during the war.

Because her grandfather refused to sign a loyalty oath, her family was sent to a special camp in the Sierra Nevadas that had harsher conditions than other internment camps.

"After my grandfather was released, he had nothing and racism was so severe," Kaku said. "So my family went back to Japan. The only job he could get to make a living was to work in the commissaries of the U.S. occupation forces there. My parents came to the United States when I was seven years old." Learning of her family's victimization at the hands of the U.S. government helped radicalize her, she said.

Kaku grew up in San Jose, California, and first became politically active in high school around environmental issues. She also participated in the protests against the U.S. government's registering of all 18-year-old men beginning in 1980 for a future military draft.

Nicaragua's 1979 revolution, which overthrew the hated U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza, inspired her to join in solidarity activities with the revolution. A short time later she met members of the Young Socialist Alliance and joined the group.

From San Jose, Kaku moved to Newark, New Jersey, and then to Detroit in 1985. She worked a variety of industrial jobs in both cities, including as a garment worker, electronics assembler, and auto worker. Kaku became active in the unions she belonged to and jumped into protests defending abortion rights and actions against U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

During the 1985-86 strike by meat-packers in Austin, Minnesota, against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co., Kaku helped promote strike solidarity and support in the United Auto Workers union in Detroit. She also participated in Detroit-area campus anti-apartheid activities.

"Through our common political work I got to know Mark," Kaku said. Curtis was a leader of the YSA and served as the group's national chairperson in 1985 and 1986.

Struggles attract Kaku and Curtis

"When packinghouse workers' struggles erupted across the Midwest on the heels of the Hormel strike, we decided to move to Des Moines together," she said. Beginning in November 1986 both walked picket lines



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Kate Kaku in New York recently to win support for Curtis' fight for justice

and organized solidarity for striking meatpackers from Sioux Falls, South Dakota, to Sioux City, Iowa; Dakota City, Nebraska; and Cudahy, Wisconsin.

Kaku and Curtis also joined the effort to build a branch of the Socialist Workers Party and a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance in Des Moines. For a time Kaku served as the YSA's chairperson there.

"Since Mark's arrest, my main focus has been to defend Mark," Kaku said. "For most of this year, with the exception of three weeks at home, I've been on the road to many countries to let people know about our fight." So far this year, she has toured seven European countries, Canada, and the southern United States.

Kaku said she was very moved by the families and spouses of political prisoners in other countries. "There's immediate solidarity between us," she said.

The determination of families of political prisoners at the Camp Crame prison in the Philippines and of the families of the Birmingham Six in Britain, Kaku said, inspired her. "They weren't depressed. They decided to do things, organize defense committees, and to continue their political work."

People who met with Kaku to discuss Curtis' defense effort during her stay here in New York included Wilhelm Joseph, the past president of the National Council of Black Lawyers; Isabelle Jaques, Amnesty International's representative to the UN; Vanessa Ramos, an attorney for 15 Puerto Rican nationalists in Hartford, Connecticut, framed up by the U.S. government; Esmeralda Brown, the representative of Service, Peace, and Justice in Latin America; Ben Dupuy, the editor of *Haiti Progrès*; William Feliz of the International League for the Rights and Liberation of the Peoples; and others.

New Zealand trial postponed for Communist League campaigner

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — A postponement has been won in the trial of James Robb, a supporter of the Communist League election campaign who was arrested while distributing literature outside a South Auckland factory on March 30. Originally set for August 1, the hearing is now to take place on October 9.

Robb was handing out leaflets advertising a campaign meeting and selling the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, outside the General Foods factory. Police, called to the scene by management, accused Robb of "obstructing" the public sidewalk and ordered him to move 20 meters down the road where he would not have been able to talk to workers.

When Robb refused to move he was arrested on the "obstruction" charge, to which was added "resisting arrest."

At a July 26 meeting held as a speak-out on the case, Robb explained, "To have gone 20 meters away up the street would have been surrendering to a blow to democratic rights."

Barry Wilson, president of the Auckland Council for Civil Liberties, commented that Robb — a well-known defender of Mark Curtis, the U.S. political activist framed on rape and burglary charges — "acts in a low-key way. But he is very capable of fighting for the rights of others." Wilson said that this case raised fundamental principles "for which the blood of martyrs has been spilt. It is not a question of the beliefs a person is putting forward — they may be socialist, communist, or conservative. But it is a question of checking the power of the state to suppress the expression of views." Wilson said that "resisting arrest" has been the hallmark of charges used against protesters for many years.

New Labour Party election candidate Keith Locke said, "Companies like General Foods are dictatorships and they seek to extend the tyranny they operate within the factory out into the streets." The labor movement should defend this case, and others like it, he said.

Ruth Gray, Communist League candidate for the parliamentary electorate of Panmure, noted that the bosses and cops were infringing not merely on Robb's right to distribute ideas, but the workers' right to read them. "Workers can expect more such attacks on democratic rights as the economic and social crisis deepens," she said. "But every such attack must be challenged and pushed back."

John Minto, international spokesperson for Hart, the main anti-apartheid organization in New Zealand, said that the "right to protest" only exists as far as people "accept it, use it, and defend it." There is no law in this country which says that this right exists, he pointed out.

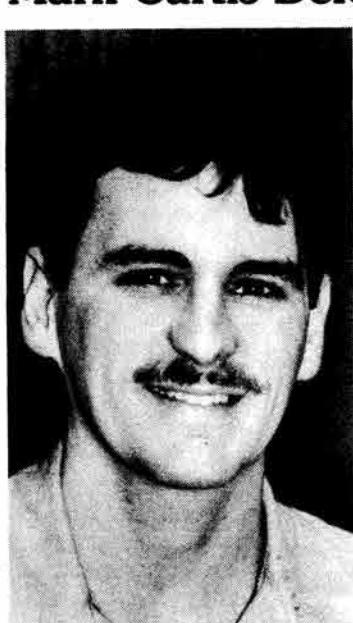
Steve Bradley — an organizer for the Food and Textile Workers Union, of which Robb is a member — explained that the recent regional delegates' meeting of the union adopted a resolution supporting Robb and sent letters of protest to the police and minister of police.

MANGERE, South Auckland — Communist League candidate Ruth Gray recently joined a picket line of the Food and Textile Workers Union here. In July, 36 members of the union at Earlybird Knitwear found themselves without a job. They began around-the-clock picket of the factory, which had closed without giving them notice of closure, pay in lieu of notice, or redundancy (severance) pay. Many of the workers had 10 years or more seniority.

The company even proposed that the workers' holiday pay should be paid out to them as "unsecured creditors" of the company — in other words, they might receive, in several months' time, only 10 cents on the dollar of this entitlement.

As a result of the picket the company began negotiations and came up with an offer of four weeks pay, plus holiday pay, for all workers. The workers voted to accept the offer.

Mark Curtis Defense Committee materials



The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis

by John Gaige. A pamphlet that explains the political background to Curtis' case, the frame-up, and unfair trial. 25 pp. \$1.00

The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis, a VHS video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. This effective 49-minute documentary has clips from TV news broadcasts on Curtis' fight for justice, scenes from the trial, and interviews with Curtis, his wife Kate Kaku, and others. This video is available for the cost of reproduction and shipping. \$10.00

Justice for Mark Curtis: 'An injury to one is an injury to all.' Buttons. \$1.00

State of Iowa v. Mark Stanton Curtis. Transcript of September 1988 jury trial proceedings that found Curtis guilty of rape and burglary. 446 pp. \$30.00.

Brief of Mark Curtis' appeal to Iowa Supreme Court. 20 pp. \$5.00

Mark Stanton Curtis v. City of Des Moines, et al. Civil lawsuit brief submitted in U.S. District Court by Curtis claiming damages against Des Moines police who beat him after his arrest. 10 pp. \$5.00

For these and other materials write or call the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Phone (515) 246-1695. Bulk quantities are available. Payments should accompany orders and checks can be made out to Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Please allow 2 weeks for delivery.

Curtis supporters go to Geneva

Continued from front page

vestigates violations of the rights of prisoners and detainees.

The subcommission is composed of 26 human rights officers from different countries. They discuss and adopt resolutions on national conditions and human rights abuses.

There are also delegations from more than 80 countries observing the session, along with dozens of NGO representatives. Both country and NGO observers have the right to speak before the subcommission. Kaku and Studer are delegates credentialed by the Indigenous World Association.

South Africa, Québec

During its first two weeks of deliberations, the subcommission discussed the situation in South Africa and the confrontation in Québec between Mohawk Indians and the Canadian federal and provincial governments. The subcommission voted to continue supporting sanctions against South Africa.

At the end of this week, the subcommission will address "the administration of justice and the human rights of detainees." This point includes "individualization of prosecution and penalties, and repercussions of violations of human rights on families" and "the right to a fair trial." Kaku is on the speakers list under this point and will address the subcommission on Curtis' case and democratic rights in the United States.

In addition to speaking before the subcommission and meeting with individual members of the UN body, the Curtis delegation — comprised of supporters from Britain, Canada, France, and Sweden — has been able to have discussions with many human rights activists.

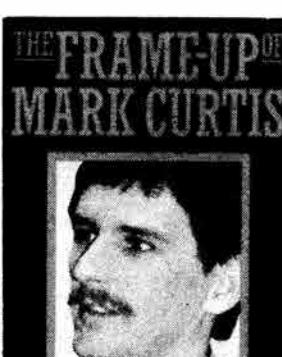
There are NGO representatives who are already supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, including Ramón Custodio López, president of the Honduran Commission on Human Rights; Rigoberta Menchú, a human rights activist from Guatemala and the NGO delegate of the International Indian Treaty Council; and Roger Wareham, representing the International Association Against Torture.

The Curtis delegation has met with activists from the World Council of Churches, including Victoria Berry of the WCC International Affairs and Human Rights Department; Natalie Africa, of the WCC Anti-racist

from PATHFINDER

The FRAME-UP of MARK CURTIS A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice By Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp. \$5.00.



A packinghouse worker's fight for justice

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 16 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Add \$1.00 for postage and handling.

Department; and WCC representatives from Germany and the Philippines.

Native and Aboriginal delegates

Kaku received a warm response from several Native and Aboriginal delegates. Terry Shane, an observer for the National Aboriginal and Islanders Legal Services Secretariat and also a member of the Australian Seamen's Union, became an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. The Aboriginal and Islander peoples in Australia are victims of police brutality. Aboriginal deaths in Australian jails are so high that an official Royal Commission was established in 1987 to investigate the matter.

Kaku concluded her report to the weekly NGO meeting by explaining the current attempt to derail Curtis' fight. The parents of the woman Curtis was falsely accused of raping are currently suing him for damages. The legal action is aimed at saddling Curtis and Kaku, both packinghouse workers, with

a life long financial burden and is an attempt to intimidate them. Both continue to speak out on the injustice of the frame-up, and Curtis has remained politically active in prison.

"The judge has ordered the treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to undergo legal questioning to determine if the committee can be considered one of Curtis' assets," Kaku reported.

"This would make the committee subject to scrutiny by the court and its funds could be seized. This affects all of the NGOs and all of the defense committees and human rights organizations in the world," Kaku told the NGO meeting. "Anyone who opposes any of our fights for human rights in the world could turn around and say, 'We want to know who your supporters are.' It opens all of us up to victimization and harassment. It is a fundamental question of the violation of our freedom of political activity and the right to privacy."



Militant/Margrethe Siem
John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Justice Department seeks to register Agenda for Peace as 'foreign agent'

BY SELVA NEBBIA

The National Agenda for Peace in El Salvador recently received a letter from the U.S. Department of Justice. Signed by Joseph Clarkson, chief of the Registration Unit of the Internal Security Section Criminal Division, the letter read:

"A newspaper advertisement which recently appeared in the *Washington Post* indicates that you are engaged in publicity activities on behalf of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

"Based on this information, it appears that you may have incurred an obligation to register pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938."

The letter, received on June 27, requests that the National Agenda for Peace in El Salvador provide the Justice Department with a "description of the nature" of the organization's activities "for or in the interest of the FMLN" and asks whether its activities are "directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in part by a foreign government, foreign political party, or foreign organization."

The Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) requires the registration with the Attorney General of persons and groups who act as "agents of a foreign principal," and the filing of copies of all "political propaganda" disseminated by such groups or individuals for their "foreign principals." It provides criminal penalties for failure to comply with the registration and filing requirements.

The *Post* ad was an open letter, explained Donna Mandel in a phone interview, "calling on the administration and the Congress to cut off military aid to El Salvador." Mandel is the legislative director of the National Agenda.

U.S. aid to El Salvador

The National Agenda open letter explains Washington has "fueled the war" in El Salvador with more than \$3.5 billion since 1980. The Salvadoran military is dependent on this aid in its war against the FMLN, a bloc of five groups engaged in guerrilla struggle. The Salvadoran government and the FMLN are currently carrying out negotiations to reach a peaceful settlement to the decade-long war.

The open letter was signed by a number of prominent "mostly religious leaders," Mandel explained, "including Jesse Jackson and Coretta Scott King, about 12 bishops from various churches, and rabbis." Mandel noted the public appeal was "obviously a fairly normal exercise of free speech under the Constitution."

The National Agenda was formed in the summer of 1988. The organization has an office in Washington, D.C., explained Mandel, and acts "as a liaison between grass-roots organizations around the country that are doing solidarity or anti-intervention work concerning El Salvador and the U.S. Congress."

"We provide legislative updates, track the process up here, what bills are coming through," Mandel said, "and get the information out to local groups around the country. We also spend a certain amount of time providing informational resources

for Congress."

On July 11, Edward Copeland of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Gary Stern of the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, and Kate Martin sent the Justice Department a letter on behalf of the National Agenda in response to the request that the organization register under the FARA.

The political positions advanced in the open letter in the *Post*, they explain, are "shared by 100 members of Congress, the editorial boards of major newspapers around the country, and millions of Americans."

"Such an advertisement provides no legal basis for demanding information under the FARA," they point out. "To the contrary, your demand is improper and unlawful."

In a phone interview Copeland said the Justice Department request was "an outrageous affront to the First Amendment" of the U.S. Constitution.

"One has a situation here where citizens of this country," he said, "are exercising their right to petition the government — a core value and right under the Constitution — and the government's response to that is to assert that these citizens are acting on behalf of a foreign entity. That is deeply offensive to the constitutionally protected right to petition the government and the right to express one's views."

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK—A dozen Cubans opposed to the revolutionary government of Cuba disrupted and attempted to break up an August 2 meeting at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center here.

More than 100 people turned out for the meeting to hear Ivan Arocha, a film editor with the Cuban Film Institute in Havana. Arocha is currently wrapping up an independent film project about the Cuban government's AIDS policy.

A rough-cut preview of the film was shown at the meeting. It included interviews with Cubans quarantined at the Los Cocos AIDS sanatorium on the outskirts of Havana.

Cuba's internment of people who have AIDS or are infected with the AIDS virus (HIV) is compulsory. This policy is the subject of considerable international debate among health professionals and activists working to prevent the spread of AIDS. Many disagree with the policy.

Arocha, who is gay, agreed to speak here at the request of some U.S. gay and lesbian rights activists. Leslie Cagan opened the meeting saying that it was an attempt to begin a dialogue between activists in the United States fighting the spread of AIDS and Cubans who are knowledgeable about their government's policy.

But before Arocha could begin to answer questions and discuss his film, counterrevolutionary Cubans began shouting at and baiting him. They claimed he was an agent of the Cuban government, not a filmmaker.

It is clear, said Angela Sanbrano during a phone interview, that the Justice Department is "trying to intimidate organizations that are working to change the policy in El Salvador. We hope to show that there is a blatant violation of our freedom of speech and our basic constitutional rights." Sanbrano is the executive director of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and a member of the board of directors of the National Agenda.

"We find that this attack has made people feel more like wanting to support us," said Mandel. "The National Agenda has sent letters to all of those who have signed its newspaper ads," she said, "asking them to protest to the Justice Department by sending letters or making phone calls. And we know a number of them have done that."

On July 26 the Justice Department sent the lawyers representing the National Agenda a reply to their July 11 letter, said Mandel. "The Justice Department replied that they would not rescind their request," she added.

The House Judiciary Committee and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship sent letters to the Justice Department protesting its challenge to the National Agenda.

Protest messages can be sent to the Justice Department, Washington, D.C. 20530.

Rightists disrupt New York meeting for AIDS filmmaker from Cuba

BY PETER THIERJUNG

When members of the audience attempted to convince them to stop the disruption, the counterrevolutionaries picked up chairs to attack them and Arocha. One of them screamed "Faggots! Faggots!" Another feigned an asthma attack creating confusion.

A woman doctor in the meeting who tried to help was forcefully thrown across the room by them.

Several people jumped up to defend Arocha and deterred the attack. Minutes later more than a dozen cops arrived at the center. Almost half the audience left when the physical disruption began.

The counterrevolutionaries remained in the meeting and dominated the debate that followed. Many of them immigrated to the United States since 1980 and were young. Some of them claimed to be gay rights activists and condemned Cuba's quarantine policy. They also denounced Cuba's sending of volunteer troops to Angola to defeat the South African apartheid regime's invasion of that country. They asserted that the Cuban government's internationalist policies were responsible for bringing AIDS to Cuba.

Some supporters of the Cuban revolution at the meeting engaged the debate to answer the slanders against Cuba. Arocha attempted to field some questions. But many interested in having a civil discussion with genuine differences over AIDS policy felt frustrated. The meeting ended when the right-wingers attempted a second physical confrontation after the police left the vicinity.

U.S. war moves grow in Arab East

Continued from front page

Pentagon's chief transportation commander, Gen. Hansford Johnson, said that more than 1 billion pounds of equipment was being sent by ship and plane to Saudi Arabia in the "largest sustained airlift ever" over such a short time period.

In the Red Sea, the battleship *Wisconsin*, having left the Mediterranean, continued moving south. Pentagon officials said the mammoth warship would probably be deployed in the Gulf of Oman or in the Persian Gulf, where its Tomahawk cruise missiles would be within striking range of targets in Iraq. The deployment of these battleships and more than 20 radar-avoiding F-117 Stealth aircraft, as well as B-52 bombers; the assignment of highly mobile marine forces; and the presence of landing craft all attest to the offensive mobilization of U.S. forces against Iraq.

The aim of this operation, which President Bush termed one of the most important military operations in the century, is to reinstate oil-rich Kuwait's monarch, Sheik Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah, who fled to Saudi Arabia after the Iraqi forces crossed the border on August 2, and to overthrow Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Iraqis have considered Kuwait to be historically a part of their country, forcefully separated by the imperialist powers to exploit its natural resources and to have a foothold in the region.

Naval blockade

Washington is attempting to implement the blockade that it declared against Iraq. On August 18 a U.S. destroyer, the *Scott*, turned back the Sudanese ferry *Dongola* in the Red Sea en route to the port of Aqaba in Jordan. The *Dongola* was carrying a load of cars for Jordan and was scheduled to board 800 Sudanese for the return trip who had been working in Kuwait before U.S. troops began landing in Saudi Arabia.

According to Jordanian officials, 150,000 people, mainly workers from other Arab countries employed in Kuwait, have taken cross country buses to Aqaba hoping to catch ferries home. The U.S. blockade has hampered their travel, congestion is increasing in Aqaba, and many are forced to sleep outside on the ground.

Further east, in the Gulf of Oman and Persian Gulf, U.S. naval forces fired their first shots against commercial shipping in order to enforce the blockade. On August 18 U.S. warships — the guided-missile frigate *Robert G. Bradley* and the frigate *Reid* — fired warning shots across the bows of two Iraqi oil tankers. The crews ignored the shots and continued sailing with the warships in their trail.

The Bush administration tried to get international agreement for its warships to disable the tankers. Unable to come to a unanimous consensus with all the other permanent members of the UN Security Council, U.S. forces let one of the tankers sail to Yemen, where the government has stated that it will observe the UN sanctions. The other tanker is still being tailed.

'War to starve Iraqi people'

The same day the Iraqi government an-



Palestinian demonstration in the Jordanian capital of Amman supported Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. His popularity, as someone who has stood up to the kings and imperialists, has increased and pro-Iraq demonstrations in Jordan and the West Bank have grown larger.

nounced that it was detaining within its territory the nationals of some countries "which have massed their naval and air forces and troops in the region on an unprecedented scale," and are "gearing up to commit aggression against the proud and peaceful people of Iraq and the Arab nation." The speaker of the Iraqi parliament, Saadi Mahdi Saleh, stated, "These governments are intent on launching a war to starve the Iraqi people in a brutal way unprecedented in history." The *New York Times* reported that Iraqi officials had announced as many as 10,000 U.S. and British citizens and citizens of other countries living in Iraq and Kuwait would be moved to Iraqi military bases, oil production sites, industrial installations, and other areas that might come under attack by U.S. military forces.

The UN Security Council demanded that Iraq free all detained foreigners and gave an implicit warning of military action if it did not.

The Iraqi government has offered to lift travel restrictions if the United States withdraws its troops from Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf. They have also offered to negotiate the points of dispute with Washington, but the Bush administration has refused talks, stating that Iraq must first get out of Kuwait so that the emir al-Sabah can rule again.

As justification for his blockade of Iraq, President Bush used Article 51 of the UN Charter that allows nations to act in self-defense when attacked and to seek help from others. The August 27 *Newsweek* reported that Washington wrote a letter for the Kuwaiti emir to sign, in which he asked the United States to help him by blockading Iraq.

Pretext for intervention

The emir sent a similar letter to other nations, inviting them to sign up. However, he left out a paragraph mentioning that the United States would be in charge of the operation. Sources said some governments — including the Australian — agreed to join the blockade and then were taken aback when they learned the Pentagon expected to be in overall command. Some of the governments have stated that they would be in favor of some military action to impose the UN sanctions on Iraq, but they have insisted that the operations be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations.

Neither the United States or Britain is in favor of putting its vessels under a UN command. The Bush administration has stated that it will militarily enforce the blockade even if no international agreement is reached.

At a meeting of the nine-nation Western European Union, a consultative body on common defense formed in 1955, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Spain said their warships would soon join naval vessels from Britain, France, and the United States already enforcing the trade embargo against Iraq in the Persian Gulf. West Germany said its

constitution prohibited it from participation, but that it would propose a constitutional amendment to be able to participate in any military operation backed by the United Nations.

The other two members of the Western European Union, Portugal and Luxembourg, have not offered naval support so far. Japan also has not offered naval support, but it is considering sending nonmilitary support personnel.

Bipartisan backing of Bush moves

Though some question his tactics on going it alone, or not going fast enough, Bush's strategy has gained bipartisan backing in the United States. The *New York Times*, in an editorial on August 20, concluded, "The United States acted hastily last week when it moved unilaterally to block naval traffic to Iraq. A few days' delay matters little in enforcing economic sanctions, which work slowly and cumulatively. As officials now seem to realize, there was certainly no good reason to forfeit 'consensus.'"

On the other hand, Henry Kissinger, secretary of state during the last years of the Vietnam War, in a syndicated column, advised the administration to "take care not to wallow in the wide domestic and international support it now enjoys," because it may prove transitory. He then argued for a rapid "surgical and progressive destruction of Iraq's military assets."

The Israeli government has been urging the United States to strike now. Ariel Sharon, the former defense minister who is now minister of housing, warned that if Washington waits much longer, "there is no doubt that there will be demands to bring the American soldiers home before the holidays, or maybe even before the elections, and it's also not easy to sit in the desert and wait."

Anti-imperialist demonstrations and protest actions have been taking place in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Lebanon, Sudan, Yemen, Jordan and the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The governments that voted in an Arab League meeting August 10 to send troops to Saudi Arabia are becoming less popular with their peoples. Posters in support of Iraq and against Syrian President Hafez Assad's alignment with the Saudis have appeared in the Syrian cities of Hama and Homs, as well as in the Druze villages of the Israeli-occupied Golan heights.

Yousef Talleh, a truck driver hauling wheat to Iraq, told a reporter at the Iraqi-Jordanian border that his vehicle would always be at the service of Iraq, and added, "I am ready to go to Iraq every day."

'Same people, language, origins'

In Aqaba an affluent resident said to the reporter that he would pack his family car with food and drive to Iraq. He said, "We are the same people. We have the same language, the same origins. Why should I let these people suffer? You won't find a Jordanian

who will not send food to Iraq."

As the crisis escalates, President Saddam's popularity, as someone who has stood up to kings and imperialists, has increased and demonstrations have grown larger. The *Washington Post* reported that a strike called August 15 in the West Bank by the Islamic movement Hamas in support of Iraq was observed throughout the Israeli-occupied territories.

This new movement for Arab self-determination intersects with the Palestinian *intifada*, which is now in its 33rd month.

Lessons of other struggles are also being recalled. Women demonstrators in Amman, Jordan, held hand-written signs, "U.S.: Remember Vietnam!"

Iran and Iraq have started to exchange prisoners from their eight-year war and are moving towards the resolution of that conflict. On the Kuwait question Iran has gone along with the UN resolutions, while blasting the U.S. military intervention in the region.

On August 21, the speaker of the Iranian parliament, Mehdi Karroubi, said U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf area were a threat to countries in the region and described the United States as "the ringleader of aggression in the world."

"Muslim nations in the region must respond to this aggression," Karroubi told the parliament. "Muslim nations will expel America from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf with humiliation, and America will take its ominous objectives to the grave."

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Decades of revolt against imperialist control of Arab East

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

(Last of a two-part series)

In May 1958 an Arab nationalist rebellion broke out in Lebanon. A civil war ensued. The Iraqi monarchy sent 12,000 troops to Jordan to safeguard it from a similar rebellion. However, on July 14 a popular revolution broke out in Iraq. King Faisal II and Prime Minister Nuri Said were killed. A new republic under Brigadier Abdul Karim Kassem was proclaimed. All Iraqi troops were withdrawn from Jordan. Another lynchpin of imperialist control was shattered.

The day after the revolution broke out in Iraq, the first U.S. military invasion of the Middle East occurred with the landing of 15,000 troops in Lebanon to prevent a nationalist victory there. U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower declared, "After the most detailed consideration, I have concluded that, given the developments in Iraq . . . that without immediate showing of U.S. support, the government of Lebanon would be unable to survive."

On July 18 British paratroopers landed in Amman, Jordan, to secure the monarchy's position there.

The Kassem regime in Iraq expropriated the vast land holdings of the sheikhs. In 1958 British oil holdings on the Iranian border were transferred to the Iraqi state and by 1961 the state expropriated 99 percent of all oil concessions not already in production.

An important victory had been scored by the masses to gain control of their oil resources, the same basic issues that had led to the 1951 nationalizations in Iran under the Mohammad Mossadegh government.

The new Iraqi regime pulled out of the imperialist-inspired Baghdad Pact and declared its alliance with the United Arab Republic (Egypt). The Iraqi republic had entered into a collision course with imperialism.

The imperialist troops succeeded in stabilizing the situation in Lebanon and Jordan for the time being. However, upheavals continued throughout the area. In 1962 French troops were driven out of Algeria and the monarchy in Yemen was toppled.

Iraq claims Kuwait

It was under the impact of the regionwide mass upsurge that Britain decided to make Kuwait an independent kingdom in June 1961. Iraq's revolutionary government claimed Kuwait was an integral part of the Iraqi Republic and refused to recognize the borders erected by the creation of the Kuwaiti protectorate in 1899. British troops landed in Kuwait in July 1961 to maintain their domination over the kingdom.

The Kassem regime in Iraq was overthrown by a military coup which brought the Iraqi Baath Party into power in 1963. A 1968 coup brought another faction of Baath into power, of which Saddam Hussein was a leader.

The Baathist regime maintained an anti-imperialist stand and supported the Palestine Liberation Organization and other liberation movements and fought for increased oil revenue shares by the oil producing countries.

This struggle for increased revenues by the Third World oil-producing countries was given a mighty boost with the Libyan revolution of September 1969, which overthrew another monarchy. Algeria, Libya, and Iraq blocked together to force the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) to fight for a bigger share of the oil revenues. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iran, the three remaining dominant monarchies, fought to limit that.

In 1971 Britain pulled all its forces out.

Correction

An error appeared in the first part of this article, published in last week's *Militant*, in the sentence that read, "After they consolidated their domination over Iraq following World War II, the British imperialists began producing oil on a massive scale in their Iraqi protectorate." It should have read "following World War I."

But the newly independent sheikhdoms of Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain maintained a staunch proimperialist policy in relation to the struggle against imperialism and within OPEC.

Iranian revolution

In 1979 the Iranian people toppled the Pahlavi monarchy through a massive revolutionary mobilization. A central pillar for imperialist stability was shattered. The Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti monarchies became even more important for the imperialists.

The Baathist capitalist regime in Iraq, fearful of its own working class after the Iranian revolution, launched an eight-year war against Iran's toilers. This brought Iraq into a temporary alliance with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and their imperialist masters. With the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war in 1988, the contradiction between Iraq and imperialism resurfaced and the alliance shattered. Kuwait once again used its vast oil resources to undercut oil prices and stave off any attempts by the Third World producers in OPEC to gain a better deal.

The al-Sabah monarchy in Kuwait has historically proven to be a reliable custodian of British and then U.S. imperialist oil interests. Central to this was its ability to buffer itself from popular rebellions and then maintain stability. This was done by disenfranchising the majority of its population and buying off the rest.

'Foreign' workers in Kuwait

Sixty percent of Kuwait's residents do not have any citizenship rights. All "immigrants" who are Palestinian, Lebanese, Egyptian, Iraqi, Iranian, Jordanian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Filipino, or of other origin are forever prevented from becoming citizens.

Close to 400,000 Palestinians and 90,000 Jordanians live in Kuwait. These "foreign" workers, some of whom are third generation residents of Kuwait, represent over 80 percent of Kuwait's working people. Even the government civil service employs a majority of "foreign" workers.

Only 19 percent of Kuwaiti citizens are active in the labor force. A significant portion of these are executives and government administrators.

As a consequence of this setup the working class in Kuwait is superexploited. For example, a Kuwaiti civil servant earns 40 percent more than a "foreign" worker. In other categories it's closer to 64 percent. Non-Kuwaiti Arabs have an upper limit of 10 percent that can attend public school. The other private schools are exorbitantly priced. All Kuwaiti citizens are given cheap government-subsidized homes that they in turn rent to immigrants, charging high rates. These rents are an additional source of income for Kuwaitis and are another form of exploitation for immigrants.

Foreigners in Kuwait cannot own property, including homes. These conditions have led to the formation of large immigrant slum dwellings around Kuwait City. Non-Kuwaitis are denied medical care provided to citizens.

Immigrants are also barred from participating in political activity and are not allowed to join trade unions.

Thus the majority of Kuwait's people are deprived of the benefits of the oil wealth and are denied rights.

Royal family

Although Kuwaitis are given substantial material privileges, society's wealth is controlled by the royal family that has ruled for 284 years, and a small circle around them. As late as 20 years ago all Kuwaiti investment abroad was controlled by a mere 18 families.

This superexploitation of non-Kuwaitis, combined with the small number of those having citizenship, has allowed the Kuwaiti monarchy to hoard vast sums of cash. This money has been used to bribe other Arab states through the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development and get their recognition of Kuwait's right to exist against Iraqi demands.

The surplus cash has also been used at the



Ousted emir of Kuwait, Sheik Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah. He ruled the kingdom established by Britain in the interests of the oil monopolies. Refinery in Kuwait, above.

rate of hundreds of billions of dollars to invest in Western Europe and the United States rather than the underdeveloped Arab East.

It is not surprising that the Kuwaiti monarchy's downfall was met with loud cheers among the Arab peoples of the region.

Georges Mehrabian is an Arab-American born and raised in Beirut, Lebanon. He is a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 8-575 and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 10th District of New Jersey.



WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

New Peruvian president imposes harsh measures

August 9, 13 days after his inauguration, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori announced severe austerity measures that have provoked protest throughout Peru. Fujimori campaigned on the pledge that his administration would not put into effect policies that would be unduly hard on the poor. Instead, the government acted quickly to cut or end subsidies and price controls and is now allowing the inti (the Peruvian currency) to float freely against the dollar. Currently the inti fluctuates from 200,000 to 400,000 to the dollar.

The measures will continue the drastic decline in the standard of living of Peru's workers and farmers who have already experienced a more than 2 million percent increase in prices over the last five years. One-third of the country's population is already officially living in poverty.

The recent round of price rises include: a 3,000 percent increase in gasoline prices; a 700 percent increase for staples such as rice, sugar, and cooking oil; a quadrupling of the cost of noodles; and a 67-fold increase in the price of kerosene.

Working people responded angrily to the price increases, taking food from the markets and erecting barricades in the streets. Bus drivers refused to make their runs in protest of the gas prices, and shopkeepers shut their stores. The government admits that army troops have killed three men and detained 10,000 people in Lima who had been involved in protest actions.

The austerity measures were worked out in agreement with the International Monetary Fund. Peru is \$800 million in arrears in its debt to the IMF. Its total external debt to foreign governments and commercial banks as well as international lending agencies is estimated at \$17 billion.

Fujimori says that his plan is to implement a 300 percent rise in taxes, customer revenues, and charges for state-owned services. He also intends to sell off 250 state-owned companies to private interests.

South Koreans demand open border with North

Ten thousand students demonstrated August 15 at Yonsei University in South Korea. They demanded an open border between North and South Korea. About 400 of these students sat in buses ready to go to the North. The police say that 600 demonstrators were arrested for engaging in street protests.

On August 16 in Imjin-gak, South Korea, near the highly militarized North-South border, 4,000 Koreans held a Mass in support of opening the border. One thousand riot police were on hand. At the end of the Mass some students went directly to the border and held a demonstration. The students chanted "Open the border, open the border!" and anti-U.S. slogans. Three demonstrators were injured by the police.

The original intention of the organizers of the Mass was to participate in an activity with North Koreans in the border village of Panmunjom to mark the 45th anniversary of Korean independence from Japanese colonial rule. The government in North Korea invited South Koreans to Panmunjom for a joint celebration.

President Roh Tae Woo of South Korea had stated that he would allow five days of unrestricted travel across the border during the week, but the border remained sealed.

Abundant grain harvest in USSR poses problem

A bumper crop of grain in the Soviet Union will not be translated into benefits for Soviet citizens. Officials say that this year's crop may exceed the record 237 million ton harvest of 1978. There are problems, however, in harvesting and transporting the crop.

The government reports that grain is being cut at only three-fourths the rate that it was last year. Over 100,000 troops have been mobilized to work in the fields to keep the crop from spoiling. The government is also asking workers and students to help in the harvesting, but they are not getting the response needed.

Estimates of the grain that may be wasted run as high as 40 million tons, which is roughly equivalent to the amount of grain the Soviet Union will import this year. On a regular basis there is a wastage of 15 percent of the grain and 30 percent of the vegetables on the way to market. But even these figures are going up with the continuing disintegration of the Soviet economy.

These problems are aggravated by shortages of parts for combines and other farm machinery. Railroad cars are unavailable due to strikes in Azerbaijan and Georgia, and seasonal workers aren't showing up for the harvest of the vegetable fields.

A U.S. businessman is quoted in the *New York Times* as saying, "Their canning and bottling plants do maybe 3,000 a day. We do that in minutes."

Ruling of Federal Election Commission grants exemption to privacy and association in socialist party's campaign

On August 16 the Federal Election Commission granted an exemption under federal law to the Socialist Workers Party, restoring the right to withhold the names of financial contributors to and recipients of payments from SWP federal election campaigns. The exemption will remain in effect through Dec. 31, 1996, covering the next two presidential election campaigns.

The text of the FEC decision is printed below. Some legal citations have been omitted. Edward Copeland is the SWP's general counsel.

Dear Mr. Copeland:

This responds to your letters dated July 2 and July 9, 1990, requesting an advisory opinion on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee and committees supporting candidates of the Socialist Workers Party ("the SWP") concerning application of the Federal Election Campaign Act [FECA] of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), and Commission regulations to its eligibility for reporting exemptions granted in consent orders issued in *Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee v. Federal Election Commission*.

In the above-captioned case, committees supporting candidates of the Socialist Workers Party brought an action against the Commission for declaratory, injunctive, and affirmative relief, alleging that specific disclosure sections of the Act operate to deprive them and their supporters of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution because of the likelihood of harassment resulting from such disclosure. The case was resolved by a consent decree entered into by the plaintiffs and the Commission on Jan. 2, 1979. This decree required the committees supporting SWP candidates to maintain records in accordance with the Act and to file reports in a timely manner. The agreement also, however, exempted the committees from the provisions requiring the disclosure of the names, addresses, occupations, and principal places of business of contributors to SWP committees; of political committees or candidates supported by SWP committees; of lenders, endorsers, or guarantors of loans to the SWP committees; and of persons to whom the SWP committees made expenditures. The decree states that its provisions would extend to the end of

1. Nevertheless, the agreement also stated that if the Commission found reason to believe that the committees violated a provision of the Act, other than those for which an exemption was specified, but needed the withheld information in order to proceed, the Commission could apply to the court for an order requiring the production of such information.

1984. It also expressly permitted the SWP committees to apply for an extension of the provisions.

On July 24, 1985, the court approved an updated settlement agreement with the same requirements and exemptions² and provisions for extension of the reporting exemption. The exemptions were extended until the end of 1988. The SWP missed the deadline for replication for the exemption and, instead, is seeking an advisory opinion wherein the Commission determines whether the SWP committees remain entitled to the reporting exemptions.

I. The Applicable Law

Although the U.S. District Court has been the forum for the granting and extension of the reporting exemption to the requester, the Commission can consider a request for the application of an exemption to prospective behavior by the SWP, i.e., the filing of disclosure reports. The Commission may not grant a renewal of an exemption that could have been granted by the court. The Commission may, however, consider whether, under the facts presented by the requester, it should grant a new exemption.

The Act requires political committees to file reports with the Commission that identify individuals and other persons who make contributions over \$200, or who come within various other disclosure categories listed above in reference to the consent agreements. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, in *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), recognized that, under certain circumstances, the Act's disclosure requirements as applied to a minor party would be unconstitutional because the threat to the exercise of First Amendment rights resulting from disclosure would outweigh the insubstantial interest in disclosure by that entity. Asserting that "[m]inor parties must be allowed sufficient flexibility in the proof of injury to assure a fair consideration of their claim" for a reporting exemption, the Court stated that "the evidence offered need only show a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of a party's contributors' names will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties." The court elaborated on this standard, stating:

The proof may include, for example, specific evidence of past or present harassment of members due to their associational ties, or of harassment against the organization itself. A pattern of

2. In view of the specific provisions of the 1979 amendments to the disclosure provisions, the agreement also makes reference to an exemption for reporting the identification of persons providing rebates, refunds or other offsets to operating expenditures, and persons providing any dividend, interest or other receipt.

threats or specific manifestations of public hostility may be sufficient. New parties that have no history upon which to draw may be able to offer evidence of reprisals or threats directed against individuals or organizations holding similar views.

'Hostility likely to continue'

The court reaffirmed this standard in *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee (Ohio)* (1982), granting the SWP an exemption from state campaign disclosure requirements. The court referred to the introduction of proof of specific incidents of private and government hostility toward the SWP and its members within the four years preceding the trial in that case. The court also referred to the long history of federal governmental surveillance and disruption of the SWP until at least 1976. Noting the appellants' challenge to the relevance of evidence of government harassment "in light of recent efforts to curb official misconduct," the court concluded that "[n]otwithstanding these efforts, the evidence suggests that hostility toward the SWP is ingrained and likely to continue."

The court in *Brown* also clarified the extent of the exemption recognized in *Buckley*, stating that the exemption included the disclosure of the names of recipients of disbursements as well as the names of contributors. The court characterized the view that the exemption pertained only to contributors' names as "unduly narrow" and "inconsistent with the rationale for the exemption stated in *Buckley*."

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit used the *Buckley* standard as a basis for exempting the campaign committee of the Communist Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates from the requirements to disclose the identification of contributors and to maintain records of the name and addresses of contributors. *Federal Election Commission v. Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee* (1982), cert. denied (1983). The court described the applicability of the standard, stating:

We note that *Buckley* did not impose unduly strict or burdensome requirements on the minority group seeking constitutional exemption. A minority party striving to avoid FECA's disclosure provisions does not carry a burden of demonstrating that harassment will certainly follow compelled disclosure of contributors' names. Indeed, when First Amendment rights are at stake and the spectre of significant chill exists, courts have never required such a heavy burden to be carried because 'First Amendment freedoms need breathing space to survive.' Breathing space is especially important in a historical context of harassment based on political belief. Our examination of the treatment historically accorded persons identified with the Communist Party and a survey of statutes still extant reveal that the disclosure sought would have the effect of restraining the First Amendment rights of supporters of the committee to an extent unjustified by the minimal governmental interest in obtaining the information.

Commission agreement to the consent decrees granting the previous exemptions to the SWP committees has been based upon the long history of systematic harassment of the SWP and those associating with it and the continuation of such harassment. The Commission has required only a "reasonable probability that compelled disclosure" would result in "threats, harassment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties." In addition, the Commission has agreed to the application of this standard to both contributors and recipients of disbursements.

In agreeing to the granting of the exemption and its renewal, the Commission has considered both "present" and historical harassment. The 1979 Stipulation of Settlement refers to the fact that the Commission was ordered "to develop a full factual record regarding the present nature and extent of harassment of the plaintiffs and their supporters resulting from the disclosure provisions." According to the 1985 Stipulation of Settlement, the renewal was based on evidentiary materials regarding the nature and extent of harassment during

the previous five years. The very nature of the periodic extensions indicates that, after a number of years, it is necessary to reassess the SWP's situation to see if the reasonable probability of resultant harassment still exists. In addition, the courts in *Brown* and *Hall-Tyner* rendered their decisions with reference to recent or current events or factors, as well as a history of harassment, i.e., recent incidents of harassment against the SWP and extant provisions of laws directed against the Communist Party.

II. The Facts Presented

You have presented facts indicating SWP's status as a minor party since its founding in 1938. Despite running a presidential candidate in every election since 1948 and numerous other candidates for federal, state, and local offices, no SWP candidate has ever been elected to public office in a partisan election.

You describe the long history of FBI and other governmental harassment of the SWP set out in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* (1986), a case in which the Federal District Court awarded judgment against the United States under the Federal Tort Claims Act for disruption activities, surreptitious entries, and use of informants by the FBI.

Beginning in 1941, the FBI began a generalized investigation of the SWP that was to last at least until 1976. With respect to informants, you enclose the report of the Special Master who was appointed to review the FBI's substantial informant files in connection with the ongoing litigation leading up to the above-described decision. Final Report of Special Master Judge Breitel in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*, (Feb. 4, 1980).³ Between the years 1960 and 1976, the FBI employed approximately 1,300 informants who reported on the activities, discussions, and debates of the SWP. In addition to reporting on what the Special Master described, with some qualifications, as "peaceful, lawful political activity" by the SWP and its adjunct, the Young Socialist Alliance ("YSA"), the informants also provided information as to the names, addresses, places and changes of employment of SWP members, and such personal data as information on "marital or cohabitational status, marital strife, health, travel plans, and personal habits."

In the 1960s and 1970s, the SWP was the subject of FBI Counterintelligence Programs "designed to disrupt the SWP on a broad national basis." The disruption under these programs included attempts to embarrass SWP candidates, foment racial strife within the SWP, and cause strife between the SWP and others in a variety of political movements. For a number of years, the FBI also conducted warrantless electronic surveillance of the SWP on an extensive basis and at least 204 surreptitious entries of SWP offices, principally to photograph or remove documents. The court noted that "there is no indication that the FBI obtained any documents showing any violence or any action to overthrow the government."

FBI lists

Over a period of many years, the FBI maintained a list known successively as the Custodial Detention List, the Security Index, and the Administrative Index. The persons on this list were to be considered for apprehension and detention in time of war or national emergency. The FBI intended to include all SWP members on this list. The list was maintained by frequent interviews of landlords and employers of the members. The SWP was also included on the Attorney General's list of subversive, communist, or fascist organizations whose members, under the Employee Loyalty Program, would be subject to a full field investigation if applyin

3. The Special Master's Report was also used as a basis for information by the U.S. District Court in the *Brown* case and information from the report was cited by the Supreme Court which affirmed the lower court decision.



"The SWP has continued to experience harassment from several sources," the election commission stated. A threatening protest in San Jose, California, held outside a 1985 party-sponsored meeting on Vietnam was one example the commission cited.

tion on rights st campaigns

for or holding any civilian federal governmental position.

You maintain that there is still federal governmental hostility toward the SWP. You refer to *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* in which the court granted an injunction preventing the government from using, releasing, or disclosing information on the SWP unlawfully obtained or developed from unlawfully obtained material except in response to a court order or an FOIA [Freedom of Information Act] request. You have enclosed affidavits submitted during 1987 in connection with this case by officials of the Office of Personnel Management, the State Department, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Defense Investigative Service expressing the need for the information on the SWP based on certain unfavorable perceptions of the SWP. The OPM official stated that the information was important because the SWP and YSA "in the past were opposed to our form of government and the national interest." The representative of the State Department characterized the SWP as a "hostile organization which has consistently posed a threat to free governments."

The court in this 1987 decision, and in the companion 1986 decision, conceded the propriety of the type of inquiry proposed by the government officials, wherein SWP membership would not be dispositive but might be a reasonable basis for questioning the person as to whether he or she should be entrusted with sensitive data pertaining to national security. However, the court in the companion 1986 decision warned that "where information about the SWP or YSA

is considered relevant, there must be a rigorous regard for the facts about these organizations" and "[a]ny indication that the SWP or YSA has a current program of carrying out violent revolution or acts of violence or terrorism would not reflect the presently known facts." The court in that case referred a number of times to the generally peaceful and lawful nature of SWP's activities, if not its ideology. The statements in the affidavits were made even after the court had made these assessments of SWP's activities.

Your request makes reference to a number of incidents over the past five years indicating primarily private harassment of the SWP and those associating with it.

Security firms

You enclose an article published in the *Midlands Business Journal* of April 21-27, [1989], promoting a security firm's services in labor disputes and urging companies to screen their employees. According to the article, the firm has compiled "an extensive data base and information index on violent domestic organizations and communist and Marxist groups." The firm referred to its work during the Hormel strike, stating that the local union was "absolutely infiltrated"

by the SWP and that, following the strike, the firm started compiling names and photographs of "agitators." The firm claimed that, in another case involving product sabotage, it checked its index and found several names of persons "involved" with the SWP.

You also make reference to a series of incidents involving threats or violence against the SWP and SWP offices. These include: (1) threatening phone calls in February 1990 to the local office of the SWP in New York City (located on the same premises as the Pathfinder bookstore) the night before a public forum on Cuba was to be held at SWP offices; (2) threatening phone calls in

Socialist Workers campaign supporters during 1948 elections. For decades the party has fought for political rights and has won key decisions expanding the rights of privacy and association. A recent FEC ruling agreed to allow socialists to withhold the names of campaign contributors.

January 1990 to a Pathfinder bookstore where the local SWP headquarters in Kansas City [Missouri] are located, followed by a rock through the store window, after a meeting on Panama sponsored by the SWP newsweekly, *The Militant*, was held on the premises; (3) bricks thrown through the windows of the SWP office in Omaha [Nebraska] in March 1989; (4) a demonstration in San Jose [California] in April 1985 outside an SWP-sponsored conference on Vietnam during which demonstrators attempted to intimidate people from attending; and (5) a shot fired through the window of a socialist book-

Continued on Page 16



Militant

Socialists win disclosure law exemption

Continued from front page

The FEC decision noted the report of Special Master Judge Charles Breitel, appointed to "review the FBI's substantial informant files" leading up to the victory in the case. Findings in the suit revealed 40 years of FBI harassment against the socialists.

In 1987 Griesa granted an injunction that forced the government from using, releasing, or disclosing the information illegally obtained by the FBI. This was needed to protect the constitutional rights of members of the SWP and YSA.

The decision also noted the FBI Counter-intelligence Programs "designed to disrupt the SWP on a broad national basis."

Recent harassment, intimidation

Along with governmental and employer harassment, Copeland provided facts on numerous incidents of intimidation and harassment of the SWP over the past five years. These included attacks and threatening phone calls made to SWP offices, harassment of SWP candidates, and arrests of supporters distributing campaign materials. Detailed reports on these incidents enabled Copeland to substantiate the case for an exemption from the disclosure requirements.

"Based on the foregoing information," the decision stated, "it appears that, during the past five years, the SWP has continued to experience harassment from several sources."

The FEC decision brings to a close the nearly year-long fight to restore the disclosure exemption.

"The FEC decision is another step in the fight of all workers' organizations to win and use political rights to gain elbowroom in which to operate," said SWP candidate Manuel.

"The SWP has been deeply involved in the fight for democratic rights, including in numerous court battles, and we have devoted enormous resources to this fight," he said.

In addition to the historic ruling against FBI spying and the FEC privacy decisions, the SWP has fought against attempts to use

the courts to meddle in the affairs of workers' organizations. These include an 10-year case brought in California by Alan Gelfand, which sought to use the court to determine who is the membership and leadership of the party.

The SWP is also joining in the defense of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in its fight to stop court attempts to seize the committee's financial records.

Manuel explained that the capitalist rulers in this country and their two parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, are continually trying to restrict the space of working-class organizations. This is done in numerous ways, including undemocratic electoral laws that restrict the ability of working-class parties to participate in elections, thought-control legislation, and government secret police operations aimed at intimidating, or breaking up, organizations opposed to government policy.

"Some organizations may be new, inexperienced, or not have the resources needed to defend themselves or mount an effective political and legal campaign to push back those government assaults on fundamental rights," said Manuel.

Disclosure laws

Ostensibly designed to curtail the corruption and fraud rampant in capitalist politics, the disclosure of financial contributors has been law since passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. However, campaign committee reports to the FEC are public record. Consequently, the names are ready-made hit lists for government, employer, and private spy agencies and other antilabor outfits.

The SWP refused to turn over any names when disclosing them was made mandatory and in 1974 filed a lawsuit challenging the provision. A court-ordered consent decree was won in 1979 exempting SWP campaign committees, under the First Amendment, from turning over names of financial contributors. In 1985 the settlement was updated to include the names of recipients of payments.

The FEC decision paved the way for winning parallel exemptions from state disclosure requirements. In *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee (Ohio)* the court granted the SWP exemption from state provisions that included both the withholding of names of contributors and recipients of payments.

"It is very significant to protect the names of recipients of payments," said Tom Buckley, a professor of law at Cleveland State University and a cooperating attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union of Ohio, in a telephone interview following the FEC victory. "The SWP will spend its money in all kinds of mainstream ways, and if you frighten off people you are doing business with, you are going to choke off political expression that way too."

The ACLU took the case, which Buckley argued, winning a Supreme Court ruling. "I was interested in two things," Buckley explained. "One was giving nonorthodox political views a chance to be heard and the other was providing an opportunity for getting into and exposing the deliberate suppression of nonorthodox views by the government over the years."

Buckley explained these two goals were achieved, and the Supreme Court ruling stands and can be used by others to win cases that involve withholding names of recipients of payments.

Protecting the names of contributors as well as recipients made *Brown* one of the most far-reaching decisions that form a basis for other working-class parties to win rulings in cases involving threats to privacy under the first and fourth amendments to the Constitution and rights of voluntary association.

The U.S. Supreme Court, for example, ruled in 1982 that the Communist Party neither had to disclose names or keep lists of names of contributors to election campaigns.

In February 1990 the Washington State Supreme Court ruled in *Snedigar v. Hodder*, known as the Freeway Hall case, in favor of the Freedom Socialist Party. The FSP had

refused to hand over meeting minutes in a civil suit against them. Valerie Carlson, lead counsel for the FSP in the case, congratulated the SWP on the FEC decision.

"In the Freeway Hall case, where the confidentiality of Freedom Socialist Party minutes are at stake, the Washington Supreme Court applied the same constitutional protections established in *Brown*," she said. "All of these cases protecting and extending privacy rights give radicals and activists a firmer basis to educate and organize for a better world."

SWP candidate Manuel reaffirmed the importance of fighting for and defending conquests like these in advancing the struggle of all working people. "The FEC decision bolsters the ability of not only the SWP but other working-class parties and organizations to openly function and engage in political activity," he said.

... to all Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters

To help insure we are prepared when it comes time to seek a renewal of our disclosure exemption we want to establish a clear record of harassment. We urge all campaign supporters to send in written accounts, from now on, of any attacks on SWP campaign offices literature tables, as well as other forms of harassment and intimidation, including threatening phone calls or letters.

We also thank all of those individuals who sent in funds to help win the FEC decision or sent protest messages urging the exemption be restored.

A special fund will be set aside to prepare for continuing efforts to retain our disclosure exemptions. Contributions earmarked for this fight can be sent to the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee, 406 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Detroit strikers prevent use of Greyhound buses

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news date, Wednesday, August 22, the

aged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

Northwest Airlines in Detroit recently announced that Ford Motor Co. was offering a special discount on new cars to Northwest employees. On August 14 groups of employees were to be transported back

made up some appropriate picket signs, another got on the phone calling the Greyhound strike office and other Eastern strikers.

In a matter of a few minutes, half a dozen Eastern strikers and two Greyhound strikers, equipped with hastily done signs, were in front of the Northwest terminal. Before more than a couple of busloads could be moved back and forth, representatives of Northwest management informed the International Association of Machinists the contract with Greyhound had been cancelled.

The proposed replacement, however, was Commuter Transportation Co., which is organized by the Teamsters union and is also on strike. The Machinists union let it be known that this too was unacceptable. Northwest then called Ford who brought in their Ford vans.

A table with an array of Eastern strike T-shirts and buttons did a

booming business at IAM Lodge 764's contract meetings on August 2. IAM Lodge 764 organizes workers at Canadian Airlines in Vancouver, British Columbia, in Canada. There are several thousand members of the lodge.

At the two largest meetings, the T-shirt with a bulldog wearing an IAM T-shirt saying "Fighting Machinists, proud to be union" was sold, with all proceeds to go to the Eastern Airlines strikers.

On seeing the button "No contract, no peace," several said "We need a button like that here." Fifteen T-shirts were sold, along with requests for many more. A total of \$245.26 was raised.

The picket line at Eastern Airlines in Montréal is alive and well and now more people know about it. Channel 12 (CFCF-CTV) visited the picket line on July 28 as a result of the indictments against Eastern

for safety violations. Strike coordinator Martial Jasmin was able to explain that the strike has been going on for 17 months now and safety has been one of the union's concerns since the beginning of the strike and years before. The story was aired twice that day.

The Fairness for Eastern Employees Committee of the Greater Louisville Central Labor Council is planning to hold an expanded picket line in support of the Eastern strikers on September 7, 6:30 p.m. at Eastern's departure gates at the airport.

September 7 marks the day Eastern restarted operations in Louisville after the strike began.

Kathie Fitzgerald from Detroit; Katy Le Rougetel from Vancouver, British Columbia; Monica Jones from Montréal; and Bronson Rozier from Louisville, Kentucky, contributed to this week's column

SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

strike was in its 537th day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Bermuda, Sweden, New Zealand, France, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encour-

aged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

and forth from the Northwest terminal at Detroit Metropolitan Airport to look at the cars. But, transported how? By Greyhound!

When a few Detroit Eastern strikers arriving early for their morning picket shift found out about what was going on, they immediately went into action. While one striker

Strikers plan Labor Day actions against Eastern

Continued from front page

panded picket line, and in Los Angeles an impromptu airport walk-through took place.

Eastern strikers target Labor Day

Eastern strikers are mapping out plans to have a big presence in Labor Day activities in early September by organizing to mobilize members, friends, and supporters to be a part of the parades, picket lines, picnics, and other activities that commemorate Labor Day.

Strikers in Miami, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities are gearing up to have contingents in Labor Day events.

One example of how the strikers are building on their victories to win the broadest possible support for their fight for jobs and a contract is a flier distributed in Birmingham.

"Because of the determination of the Eastern strikers," reads the flier, "Frank Lorenzo has been forced out of running both Eastern and the nonunion airline Continental."

"Another victory," the flier continues, "was scored by the strike when it was announced on July 25 that Eastern and 10 of its management employees were charged in a 60-count indictment. Eastern became the first U.S. airline ever to be criminally charged for failing to maintain its planes safely."

"Shugrue, the court-appointed trustee for Eastern, on June 17 began a '100 days' ad campaign to convince the public that Eastern 'is going to get a little better every day.' But every day Eastern's situation is getting worse and the strike is getting stronger," the flier reads.

The flier, headlined "Support the Eastern Airlines and Greyhound strikers," announces plans for expanded picket lines at the Birmingham Municipal Airport and Greyhound Bus Station on Labor Day, September 3. The events are sponsored by Alabama Jobs With Justice, IAM District 100, and Amalgamated Transit Union locals 1493 and 1600.

Union-buster Lorenzo leaves

On August 9 Lorenzo stepped down as chief executive of Continental Holdings Inc. and announced he was selling most of his stake in the holding company to Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS).

Lorenzo bought Continental Airlines in

1982, and in 1983 he launched a drive to break the unions at the carrier.

Faced with a demand for a 40 percent wage cut and the elimination of 600 jobs, 2,000 members of the IAM were forced to strike. All those who refused to cross the picket lines were fired and scabs were brought in.

A month into the strike, Lorenzo filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy, which voided the union contracts. Continental then laid off all of its 12,000 employees and rehired 4,200 of them at about 50 percent of their previous pay. Lorenzo had succeeded in busting the Machinists and other unions at the airline.

Lorenzo was hoping to build on this conquest and add Eastern to his nonunion Texas Air empire when he bought the airline in 1986. However, the striking Machinists have blocked his efforts to bust the unions at Eastern and have dealt a big blow to the decade-long antiunion drive of the employers against working people in the United States.

On April 18, a bankruptcy judge removed Lorenzo from the day-to-day operations at Eastern. Lorenzo had proposed that the carrier's creditors receive 10 cents on each dollar they were owed, which proved unacceptable to them, so the court appointed Martin Shugrue as trustee.

Eastern took another hammer blow on July 25 when criminal charges were leveled against the carrier because it failed to maintain its planes properly.

U.S. Attorney Andrew Maloney explained Eastern's upper management, through "unreasonable demands, pressure, and intimidation," put pressure on employees "to keep the aircraft in flight at all costs."

The airline continues to lose millions of dollars every day and the number of passengers flying on Eastern remains low. Most

recently, Shugrue withdrew another \$50 million from escrow accounts to keep the airline operating.

Possibility of buyout by Northwest

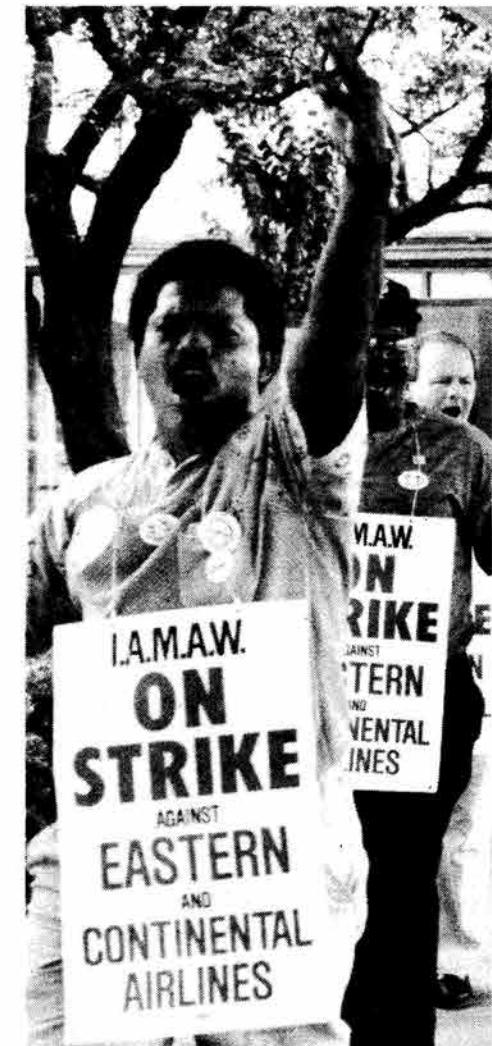
In July, Northwest Airlines Chairman Alfred Checchi made an initial buyout proposal to Eastern's creditors, which included taking over some of the airline's assets — 80 of the newer aircraft, airport gates in Atlanta, and maintenance facilities in Atlanta and Miami.

Officials at both Eastern and Northwest did not return numerous calls inquiring about the status of any negotiations between the two carriers this week, but Northwest has continued to investigate Eastern's assets and equipment. Northwest officials have met with the IAM as well. The union represents 20,000 workers at Northwest and 8,500 at Eastern.

The Machinists are continuing to press their fight for a contract and jobs by keeping their picket lines up and drawing broader forces into their strike activities. Strikers have reported getting a response from Continental workers who have been encouraged by the IAM's victories against Lorenzo.

A flier from Los Angeles publicizes a September 1 Labor Day weekend action in support of the Eastern strikers and urges trade unionists and strike supporters to "join the L.A. County Federation of Labor's call for a human chain of labor" at the Los Angeles International Airport.

The flier concludes by explaining, "The possibility exists for us to go back to work with union jobs and a union contract. United action by the labor movement can make the difference. The bigger the victory we win in this strike, the bigger defeat we all deal to union-busting."



Militant/Nancy Brown
Pickets at Washington National Airport, August 4.

Scargill pamphlet tells truth, defends NUM

BY PETE CLIFFORD AND RICH PALSER

SHEFFIELD, England — Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Miners, told reporters here that he intends to "fight like hell" to defend the union against the continuing campaign in the news media charging him and NUM General Secretary Peter Heathfield with misappropriation of donations intended for miners during their 1984-85 strike. The union leaders will be addressing some 35 meetings from Edinburgh to Cardiff during the next month.

To assist in taking the union leaders' case to the ranks of the NUM and the labor movement, Women Against Pit Closures, an organization of miners' wives set up during the strike, has published a pamphlet authored by Scargill entitled "Response to the Lightman Inquiry."

Gavin Lightman, at the request of the NUM executive and with the support of Scargill and Heathfield, conducted an inquiry into allegations that the two union leaders used funds donated to the miners for personal gain. While clearing the union officials of that charge, the

report also criticized them for their handling of union finances during the strike.

The union took special financial and accounting measures for a number of years to be able to continue functioning during the hard-fought strike and to avoid the effects of sequestration of funds and court-ordered receivership.

Responding to the charges in the media and the report, Scargill said, "There is no money missing, all creditors have been paid, all loans repaid, and a substantial donation made to the Miners Solidarity Fund for victimized miners." He added, "We are guilty of doing all in our power to nullify the actions of the establishment and the courts, which were hell-bent on destroying our union."

Among the allegations countered in the pamphlet is that monies donated by Soviet miners to the striking miners never reached them, but instead were held in the accounts of the International Miners' Organisation, of which Scargill is president.

The pamphlet includes letters to Lightman from Alain Simon, the general secretary of the IMO, who explains that all monies re-

ceived by the IMO or its predecessors were donations to the international solidarity fund and not specifically destined for the NUM in Britain.

Nottinghamshire NUM General Secretary Henry Richardson, one of the four NUM executive members charged with carrying through legal action to recover union monies supposedly held by the IMO, said in response to the publication of Simon's letters, "There is no reference to these letters in the Lightman report. We were always led to believe from Mr. Lightman that Simon had not cooperated whatsoever. We were advised to take legal action because of that."

Support for Scargill and Heathfield has been registered in a number of areas leading up to a national delegate conference of the union. The Midland Area Council of the union gave the two union officials a unanimous vote of confidence at their meeting on August 6. The Nottinghamshire Area has called for an end to the legal inquiry. Some 150 delegates from 26 branches in the North East Area also gave Scargill and Heathfield a vote of confidence.

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Militant/Margrethe Siem

Villagers in South Natal, South Africa. Mandela explains, "We want the future of the world to be in the hands of the men and women who walk our streets."

The following speech was given by Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the African National Congress, on March 16 at Globen arena in Stockholm, Sweden. It was delivered at a rally of 12,000 that wrapped up a five-day visit to Sweden by the ANC leader.

The speech appears in *Nelson Mandela: Intensifiquemos la lucha* (Nelson Mandela: Intensify the Struggle), a collection of speeches soon to be published in Spanish by Pathfinder Press. The transcription and subheadings are by the *Militant*.

Mr. Prime Minister, members of the Swedish government, distinguished guests and the good people of Sweden:

I greet you in the name of all the pro-democracy forces of South Africa. I also greet you in the name of the thousands of innocent people who paid with their lives in the struggle for humanity.

My delegation and I have now reached the end of our five country tour. Tomorrow we set foot once again on apartheid soil. But we return with the firm knowledge that the struggle against apartheid is truly a worldwide struggle for humanity. The response of the Swedish people to our visit is testimony to this. It is as significant for mankind as the struggle against slavery was.

Before I go any further, I wish to pay respects, on my behalf and on behalf of the liberation movement, to a man who served as an example to all of us, a man whom we consider to be a true freedom fighter. The

death of Prime Minister Olof Palme was a powerful blow to those of us in the apartheid jails who shared his ideals. The world has lost a giant. I call on you to rise and join us in a moment's silence in memory of this great man.

My tour to some of the frontline states was a moving and emotional experience. I saw with my own eyes the pain and suffering of people who, after years of colonialism, now experience apartheid destabilization.

The principled and unwavering anti-apartheid stand taken by those countries has been at great cost to themselves. They continue to suffer economic hardship, death and destruction. There is no comparable example in history where so many countries pay such a high price for someone else's freedom.

I was struck by the sight of so many citizens of these countries expressing support for our cause. In all the countries visited, including Sweden, we were heartened to see that the anti-apartheid policies of the governments have the full backing of the people. I salute you, the good people of Sweden. I embrace you as my brothers and sisters, my children and grandchildren.

We are encouraged by the increasing interest in the building of democracy by the people of Europe. It is now becoming clear to the world that the building of democracy is a continuous process. There is no limit to which it can be enriched.

In the South African struggle, we intend involving the ordinary man and woman of our nation in decision-making every inch of

the way in the creation of a new democratic South Africa.

It is for this reason that we insist that the South African government take certain steps before any negotiations between it and the liberation movement begin. We insist that all political prisoners be released. We insist that the state of emergency and other repressive legislation be suspended.

It is only when these conditions are met that we can ensure that the very process which ushers in a democratic South Africa is itself democratic.

The great lesson of our time is that no regime, whatever its ideological orientation, can survive if it acts above the heads of the ordinary citizens of the country. Another great lesson of our time is that the ordinary man and woman who walk the streets and plow the fields are not married to ideologies or faiths.

The ordinary people of the East and the West and of Africa and Europe all share the same visions. They all dream of decent housing, jobs for all, a living wage, relevant education, peace, the opportunity to appreciate nature, an end to racial and sexual discrimination, and the opportunity to develop their creative potentialities.

We hope and pray that at the end of the 1990s we would be able to look back and say that it was indeed a decade of the people. Yes, it should not be a decade of kings and generals, presidents and leaders of liberation movements.

We want the future of the world to be in

the hands of the men and women who walk our streets. No policy — no matter how brilliant it is — is correct if it cannot be understood by the masses. A policy which does not appeal to the common sense of ordinary people is a bad policy.

It is because of the concerns of millions of ordinary people here in Europe and elsewhere that the threat of a nuclear war is beginning to recede. We fully support the struggle for the dismantling of nuclear weapons so that the threat of war becomes even more remote.

The destruction of the environment is another important issue the ordinary people have succeeded in highlighting today. Apartheid is destroying the southern African environment. For us in the African National Congress, the struggle against apartheid cannot be separated from the struggle to protect the environment.

Friends, some of my colleagues and I have been released from prison, but the struggle against apartheid is far from over. The fundamental aspects of apartheid still remain intact. However there are signs that the apartheid system is about to crumble.

In order to ensure that it does crumble, we need to increase all forms of pressure. Inside South Africa mass action is taking place on a scale greater than ever. We call on the international community to intensify the sanctions campaign. When the water is about to boil, it is foolish to turn the heat off.

In conclusion, we wish to thank the people of Sweden and all other Nordic countries for the steadfast support you have given us over the years, your actions in building a powerful bond between the people of the most northern point of Europe and those of the most southern part of Africa.

We hope that in the future, this friendship would contribute to once again linking Europe to Africa — but this time Europeans will go to Africa as friends and not as colonial masters.

Thank you.

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British rail union opposes blacklisting

BY MARTIN MARRIOTT

CARDIFF, Wales — The annual conference of the National Union of Railways (NUR) held in Liverpool, England, in July voted to oppose the blacklisting and victimization of Joyce Fairchild, a British Rail signals engineer and NUR member in London. British Rail is a nationalized industry in Britain.

British Airports Authority at the Stansted Airport refused Fairchild a security pass to work with the rest of her work gang on a new rail extension to the airport. The airport authority has since said they do not have to give any reason for denying security passes. And British Rail is allowing the airport management to determine which rail workers are allowed to work at the airport.

At the conference, NUR President John Cogger pointed out in his presidential address, "No one has complained about her work, yet it happened because her politics are 'suspect' — left wing. In other words the characters with right-wing views are appointed to run British Rail, while she is a security risk."

A statement was issued demanding that British Rail provide a reason for its complicity in the victimization, and that Fairchild be reinstated into her work gang.

In a report to the media, Jimmy Knapp, general secretary of the union said, "There is something sinister in this. Who are these individuals who determine whether a man or woman is a security risk?" An article in the union's paper, *Transport Review*, has featured the case.

The spying and victimization of Fairchild comes at a time when attempts are being made by British Rail to weaken the living

standards and working conditions of rail workers in Britain.

Last summer railway workers throughout Britain carried out several one-day strikes and pushed back rail management's efforts to undercut the bargaining power of the NUR by ending national negotiations over wages and conditions.

Since then, British Rail has announced a profit loss for the first time in five years and has made different productivity proposals for each grade of rail workers.

Among the proposals being made by the Permanent Way and the Signals and Telecommunications departments are the following:

- Lengthening the workweek from 40 to 50 hours, while at the same time abolishing overtime rates. Although management has proposed a raise in the base pay, without the existence of overtime rates there will still be a loss in overall pay.

- Yearly renewable individual contracts between management and each employee, which in effect makes each worker temporary because once the one-year contract expires, management could decide not to renew it.

- Total job flexibility to the benefit of management on the number of hours worked over a several-week period.

Meetings of track workers, in particular, have occurred across the country overwhelmingly rejecting management's proposals.

On July 27 British Ford Motor Co. announced publicly that it had stopped using the services of a private agency known as the Economic League to investigate its employees. This decision constitutes a blow to the bosses' practice of spying on workers.

More recently, the NUR East London Dis-

Nicaraguan gov't turns school over to the church: students, teachers protest

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

LA PAZ CENTRO, Nicaragua — The government's Ministry of Education has turned over the only secondary school in this small town to the local priest and has authorized its name to be changed to the Pope Paul VI Institute. The move provoked a fight by students, teachers, and other townspeople to defend the right to the free, public, secular education that was a gain of the 1979 revolution.

The first high school in the town, it was completed following the revolution and named the July 17 High School after the date La Paz Centro was liberated. For the first time secondary school education became available to the children of workers and peasants; the rich had sent their children to the nearest big town, León.

Parish priest Enrique Martínez is the new director. He says the return of the school to Catholic church administration poses no threat to secular education.

"The church isn't interested in religion classes," he insists. "All we want is to make sure the school is accompanied by the church.

"The presence of a priest in the school right away says a lot," he notes. "Over time the church will encourage education imbued with the spirit of the gospel."

Equally important for Martínez is his goal of getting rid of "political indoctrination" by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

"The Sandinistas know I'm going to put an end to their last fortress in this town, where they brainwash the students," Martínez said, adding that the majority of teachers are FSLN supporters.

A majority of teachers participated in a several-day strike to protest the naming of Martínez as director.

The priest says he hopes to be able to fire teachers who continue to oppose him. He will also get rid of classes on the history of the revolution and any "classes on politics."

Priest against contraceptives

Other restrictions will be imposed as well. Martínez cites birth control pills as one example. "They were becoming almost a stan-



El Nuevo Diario/S. Martínez

Parish priest Enrique Martínez confronts student activists and teachers occupying July 17 High School.

dard thing here," he says.

For Rosa Luz Pérez, use of contraceptives is one among many practices the priest will need to "rescue the youth" from. She is the government Ministry of Education representative.

"The students smoke and drink. They had parties every Saturday and couples would dance — improperly and in a dimly lit room," Pérez objects.

Students don't want Martínez as director because "they know the father is going to be a stern disciplinarian," she says. "You know that new hair-style? He is going to cut off their rat-tails," she notes with approval, "and teach them moral values."

Pérez says she doesn't understand the objection to a priest as head of the school since under the FSLN government, a priest, Ernesto Cardenal, was minister of education.

Rómulo Berrios, a student at the school, says the difference is that Cardenal "never imposed a religious influence on education. He was always for secular schooling.

"They say the school here will continue

to be secular, but with Martínez in there, it won't be. It's a lie," Berrios observes.

Members of the Federation of High School Students (FES) say that 500 of the school's 800 students supported protest activities against the priest. Many students oppose the imposition of a dress code; their parents can't afford the required clothing. And word that the school's night session for adults would be ended also prompted resistance, they say.

FES Vice-president Ervin Ruiz says some

oppose the priest because he "has openly identified himself politically with the right wing in this town." Martínez attacked the FSLN when he said mass and led a sacrificial religious procession barefoot, in which he prayed for the victory of candidates running against the Sandinistas.

The students also say that when they occupied the school for a day Martínez led a march of right-wingers there in which marchers threw rocks at teachers and students and forcibly entered the grounds.

"We don't want somebody violent like that to be the head of the school," one young student explains. "They screamed that we were 'lazy bums, pot-heads, and birth control pill users!'"

The issue is clear, according to 13-year-old Daisy Hernández: "A priest should be in his church saying mass, not in school giving classes."

The central leader of the FSLN in La Paz Centro, Marcia Quezada, says that Martínez plans to axe "sex education classes and a scientific education, both taboo under the Somoza dictatorship, but now considered perfectly natural.

"Even though Martínez is only 29 years old, he's a real troglodyte," Quezada says. "He told me, for example, that the Ministry of Education's sex education book is pornographic.

"You can see what starts to happen when the church gets into the school," Quezada stresses. "It's a violation of our constitution, which mandates the separation of the church and the state."

Ramírez proclaims the FSLN an electoral party

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "We are no longer the armed party we were in 1979," said Sergio Ramírez, a central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front

(FSLN). "We are a civil, democratic, electoral party."

Ramírez heads the FSLN's legislative caucus and is the former vice-president of Nicaragua. He made his remarks in an interview printed August 4 in the cultural supplement to the Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario*.

Since losing the presidential elections in February, the FSLN has declared its goal is to regain power through the 1996 elections. In the coming period, "we must legitimize the FSLN before many sectors of society," Ramírez said, "legitimize ourselves as a viable force capable of creating a national consensus like the one we created in 1979 to overthrow the [Anastasio Somoza] dictatorship and govern the country."

This means, he continued, that "we can't raise the banner of confiscation, checkpoints on the highways to halt peasants' products, or threats to the security of the property of many families in the countryside."

"Ideological schemas have no function in this country now," he said. "We have to be more political than ideological; we must not raise the banner of confrontation but rather that of consensus among the different sectors of society."

"We are going to accumulate forces to win new elections," Ramírez predicted. "That's the great challenge we have and because of that a structural and programmatic transformation of the FSLN is needed."

"I think we could say that we had the support of the working class, which is not representative at the moment in electoral terms because this is not an industrial country," Ramírez explained.

"The FSLN has to mend its relationship with the peasant sector," he continued. "We should neither fear alliances with the peasant base of the contras nor with sectors of the bourgeoisie that are interested in projects of national development."

In addition, the FSLN should seek the support of market vendors, artisans, small businessmen, and professionals, Ramírez said. "This is not the proletariat. This is the people and they vote."

"For me," the FSLN leader said, "the problem is not the masses in the abstract but voters in the flesh. If we were to think the contradiction in this country is between proletariat and bourgeoisie, we would be mistaken."

Israel uses Soviet Jews against Arabs

BY HARRY RING

The massive migration of Soviet Jews to Israel has sparked concern and anger among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Neighboring Arab governments have added their protest as well.

Initially, the Israeli government let it be known that it intended to move numbers of the Soviet immigrants into Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian land and water have been usurped for these settlements, and right-wing settlers have been used as vigilante thugs against Palestinians.

Responding to the strong Arab protests on the settlement issue, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev threatened to halt the emigration unless Israel assured that the new arrivals would not be sent to the West Bank or Gaza.

Washington joined with Moscow in leaning on Israel. It indicated that if Israel pushed ahead with its plan, the number of Soviet émigrés permitted to enter the United States might be increased. When the doors were open to them, the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews chose to come to the United States, not Israel.

Faced with the U.S.-Soviet pressure, the Israeli government backed off, at least for now. But a significant number of Soviet Jews are being directed to East Jerusalem.

Long divided

Jerusalem has long been a divided city, with Arabs living in the eastern part and Jews in the west. In the past year, a reported 6,000 Soviet immigrants have been settled in East Jerusalem.

This apparently has U.S. approval. Last March, Vice-president Danforth Quayle said that while Washington remained opposed to new West Bank or Gaza settlements, it would

not oppose moving Soviet Jews into East Jerusalem.

Settling the Soviet émigrés there is part of a broader drive to tighten the Israeli regime's grip on the city.

Israeli designs on East Jerusalem were dramatized earlier this year when a group of right-wing Jews were moved into the traditional Palestinian Christian quarter of the city. This touched off such an uproar of protest that the government was forced to beat a partial retreat.

In a surprise move last April, 20 Jewish families, members of a right-wing religious sect, were moved into a building owned by the Greek Orthodox Church in the heart of the Christian quarter. The church had given quasi-ownership of the building to an individual who sold it, without church authorization, to a dummy Panamanian company acting on behalf of the settlers.

Government purchase

It was then revealed that the Israeli government had secretly provided the money to buy the building.

After demonstrations by both Christian and Moslem Palestinians, the Israeli high court agreed to review the case. Pending its decision, the court ordered the settlers to leave the building — except for 20 who remained for purposes of "maintenance" and "security."

The high court is now confronted with a thorny legal problem since the Israeli government takes the position that it is racist to deny Jews the right to live anywhere in Jerusalem they choose. But at the same time it bars Palestinians from living in the Jewish quarter, and the high court has upheld this.

A Palestinian, whose home on the edge of the Jewish quarter had been confiscated, tried to buy it back. Denied the right to do so, he appealed to the top court, which rejected his

appeal. The court held that in general people could not be denied a home because of religion or nationality. But, it asserted, in Jerusalem, such discrimination was proper.

"There is no inappropriate discrimination involved," the court declared, "in keeping each quarter homogenous — each quarter with its own ethnic group."

The status of Jerusalem itself has been bitterly contested since Israel was established.

Capital of Palestine

Under British rule, Jerusalem had been the capital of Palestine. In 1947, when the United Nations took it upon itself to carve Palestine into what was supposed to be Palestine and Israel, it declared that Jerusalem should be an international city. It was to be under UN supervision and separate from both states.

That never happened. With its founding in 1948, Israel became embroiled in a war with the neighboring Arab countries. Israel won the war, but Jordan won control of East Jerusalem, which it annexed over the protests of the other Arab countries.

In the aftermath of its 1967 war against the Arab countries, Israel grabbed the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem. It declared it was holding Gaza and the West Bank under "temporary" occupation pending a peace agreement. It has kept both areas under military rule ever since.

From the outset, however, it declared Jerusalem an integral part of Israel and named it the capital of the country. To this day, not one government in the world has recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Within weeks after the 1967 war, the Israeli government expanded Jerusalem's boundaries. A belt of West Bank land on its northern, eastern, and southern borders was added to the city. Jerusalem tripled in size.

Continued on Page 17



Haida Indian land-claim demonstration in Edmonton, Canada, 1990.

There are growing fights to win Native control over education and teaching in Native languages.

BY ROBERT SIMMS AND MICHEL DUGRÉ

(Second of three articles)

The staunch defense of Native land by Mohawk Indians at Kanesatake near Montréal is just the latest in an accelerating wave of Native actions in the last three decades aimed at securing recognition of their land claims, full realization of their treaty rights, and Native sovereignty.

But resistance and struggle by Indians, the Inuit in the Arctic, and the Métis in western and northern Canada for their aboriginal rights goes back to the rise of capitalism in Canada.

At the heart of the oppression of Native people is their having been dispossessed of their land — which makes it nearly impossible to carry on either their traditional livelihoods or modern economic development — and the denial of their basic human, democratic, and cultural rights in legislation such as the Indian Act.

When a federal inquiry commission in the 1970s interviewed Native people in the Canadian north about a proposed pipeline down the MacKenzie River valley, one Indian told Thomas Berger, head of the commission, "The land is our blood." Another said, "White people they always have some money in the bank. The only banking I could do is something that is stored in the bush and live off it. That's my bank."

Many land claims being fought for today by Native people go back for centuries. The Mohawks at Kanesatake never accepted the 1717 land grant of their lands by the king of France to a French religious order. Their claim was dismissed in the Privy Council, the final court of appeal in Canada, in 1912. The government rejected renewed claims in 1975 and 1986. But the Mohawks have never given up.

Residents of the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario have always claimed they were defrauded of the bulk of their treaty lands in 1841.

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai people at Bear Lake in northern Ontario have a 113-year-old claim for 3,800 square miles of land that was taken from them in an 1850 treaty signed without their knowledge by an Indian in southern Ontario.

Native organizations in Canada have launched more than 500 land claims. There are dozens of large-scale comprehensive claims dealing with land that has never been ceded by Native people in treaties. This territory includes most of British Columbia, all the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and most of Québec and the Maritime provinces. The rest are specific claims about treaty violations, land swindles, unjust expropriations of Native land, etc.

The federal government contemptuously refused to hear a word about land claims for several decades. In 1969 then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau rejected new land treaties and proposed doing away with all treaties and speeding up forced assimilation programs. "We can't recognize aboriginal rights be-

cause no society can be built on historical might-have-beens," he said.

Reopening of treaty claims

His statement came on the eve of a new wave of militancy and mobilizations for Native rights in the 1970s. In 1973 the federal government was forced to agree to reopen negotiations on land claims.

The first fruits of that victory came with the James Bay Treaty with Cree Indians and Inuit in 1975 that allowed Hydro-Québec to build huge hydroelectric dams in northern Québec, and the 1977 federal government decision to yield to pressure by Natives and their supporters and halt pipeline construction in the Northwest Territories until Native land claims were settled.

Since then, Ottawa has negotiated four new treaties with the Indians, Métis, and Inuit in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. It is moving as slowly as it can get away with: its policy is to negotiate only six comprehensive claims at a time. The first six have taken 15 years and most are not fully completed yet.

The first one completed, the James Bay Treaty, shows that the treachery of Canada's rulers continues unabated. Millions of dollars in funds promised have not come through, and the flooded land behind the dams is releasing massive amounts of toxic mercury pollution into the lakes where it is consumed by fish that are the traditional source of the Natives' food. So great are the breaches of the treaty by the federal and Québec governments that the Grand Council of the Crees of Québec has filed suit in court to have the agreement declared null and void.

Native sovereignty

The Native peoples who first dealt with the European colonizers did so as self-governing tribes or bands answerable to no other people, who entered into treaties and agreements with the European commercial intruders on that basis.

Native peoples' consciousness of their former independent existence has never been lost. They have fought to have the treaties they were forced to sign interpreted in that spirit. But they have had to fight against the many forms their oppression takes, ranging from the fight to defend the right to their own culture and language to confrontations with big capital and private enterprise in industries like logging and mining to defend their traditional and collective use of the land.

Early leaders of Native resistance focused on fighting against despotic Indian Act regulations and on forcing the Canadian government to fulfill treaty obligations in areas such as education and hunting and fishing rights, which have been gutted by government wildlife regulations.

From the beginning, the struggles of Native Indians have been intertwined with those of other exploited producers who were also fighting for land and those of oppressed nationalities in Canada.

When the Métis and Indians waged their final military battle to defend their land in western Canada in 1885 they almost immediately found solidarity from Acadiens, Québécois, and other toilers for whom the new Canadian confederation under capitalist rule imposed in 1867 meant ever deepening national oppression. Massive protest erupted in Québec when Métis leader Louis Riel and other rebels were to be hanged. "He shall

How the land was stolen from the Native peoples of Canada

hang though every dog in Québec bark in his favor," said then Prime Minister John MacDonald. Shortly after the hanging, 50,000 Québécois demonstrated in Montréal.

Since World War II their fight became more and more part of the rising international fight against imperialist oppression and exploitation. It linked up with the Black civil rights struggle, the anticolonial revolution, the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, women's rights battles, and the international fight of aboriginal peoples from Australia to Nicaragua.

Through their struggles, they have been developing a consciousness as nationalities fighting against their national oppression. They deepened their unity and organization. As a result, the National Indian Brotherhood, the first cross-country Native organization, was founded in 1969.

The Native People's Caravan to Ottawa in 1974 demanded recognition of Native sovereignty, aboriginal rights, and the scrapping of the Indian Act.

Amended constitution

When the federal government and nine provinces moved to fundamentally amend the Canadian constitution in 1981, the result was not only a deep attack on Québec's national rights, one of the project's main aims, but also a total rejection of historic native demands. Natives in their thousands mobilized Nov. 19, 1981, for constitutional recognition of aboriginal rights — 7,000 demonstrated in Alberta, thousands more in Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Ottawa. They made allies with the Québécois, women, and trade unionists who were also fighting the constitution.

They won a partial victory — inclusion of a clause in the constitution recognizing existing aboriginal and treaty rights and a promise of three constitutional conferences on Native rights in the next five years. Since Ottawa considered that their existing rights did not amount to much, it hoped the victory would be hollow.

Instead it helped to spark an accelerating wave of Native mobilizations to win their human and aboriginal rights and enforce existing treaties. The tempo increased after

Struggle by Indians, Inuit, and Métis goes back to the rise of capitalism.

1985 at the same time as the labor movement in Canada began militant fightbacks against the effects of the capitalist economic crisis. Big strikes such as those by meat-packers in Alberta in 1986 and the current Eastern Airlines battle in North America have helped create greater openings for struggle.

Micmacs in Restigouche, Québec, and in Nova Scotia fought for the right to fish Atlantic salmon and hunt moose in several clashes with police and the courts. Similar moves to defend hunting and fishing rights were made by Indians in British Columbia and in Ontario.

There were a growing number of Indian barricades staffed for months to prevent capitalist development, whether logging, or oil exploration, to take place on their land claims — the Haida in the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia in 1985, the Lubicon

Cree in Alberta, the Bear Island Teme-Augama Anishnabai in northern Ontario in 1988, and the Kanesatake Mohawks at Oka in 1990.

There were growing fights to win Native control over education and teaching in Native languages. In 1989 a two-month fight involving a five-week hunger strike, several demonstrations, and occupations of Indian Affairs offices was fought to prevent cutbacks in federal financing of post-secondary education for Natives.

Affirmative action in jobs was fought for in construction, for example, the building of hydroelectric dams in the province of Manitoba, in northern industry such as mining, and in the public sector.

The Innu people in Labrador launched a successful international campaign against building a NATO airbase there to prevent overflights of their hunting grounds.

Two public inquiries were launched into the justice systems of Manitoba and Nova Scotia. Demands for the inquiries in Nova Scotia stemmed from the racist frame-up of Donald Marshall on murder charges. Marshall is a Micmac Indian. In Manitoba Native leader J.J. Harper was killed by Winnipeg cops and a young Indian woman's rape and murder was not investigated for 14 years, despite common knowledge of the killer's identity.

This wave of struggles deepened dramatically after Native resistance, again allied with the Québécois, was decisive in defeating the Meech Lake constitutional amendment, another antidemocratic move, in June this year.

All these struggles, which have attracted front-page media coverage in Canada, have buttressed the central goal of Native people — sovereignty.

For the federal government, its framework for the final disposition of aboriginal rights goes no further than "self-government" for Natives conceived as municipal government housekeeping; enlarged reserves where treaties have not been signed; and limited cash compensation for gutting the substance of aboriginal rights on the vast majority of Canadian territory.

In the last of the three aboriginal rights constitutional conferences, which was held in 1987, the federal government put forward a final proposal based on its framework. The four organizations of the status Indians, non-status Indians, Métis, and Inuit unanimously rejected it outright.

Sovereignty for Native people means land — a land base large enough to have a decent economic future. It means holding onto aboriginal rights through all of Canada and Québec. It means autonomous self-government of a fashion to be worked out by Native people through their experience. And it means dealing with Canada and Québec as nations to nations.

"We are not Canadians, and we are not Quebecers; we are people of the First Nations," said Ghislain Picard, vice-president of the Attikamek-Montagnais Council representing 15,000 Natives in northern Québec.

The unanimity with which Native people have risen up across Canada and acted in total solidarity with the Mohawks of Kanesatake has demonstrated the growing force of their national consciousness and the fight against oppression.

— CALENDAR —

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

World Politics Today: The Battles Ahead for Working People — Socialist Workers Campaign '90. Hear the candidates Joel Britton for governor, Lisa Ahlberg for Congress. Fri., Aug. 31. Food and refreshments, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Women: Roots of Oppression, Road to Liberation. Speakers: Denise McInerney, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 15199; Kari Sachs, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Sept. 1, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Strike Against Eastern. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Nelson Mandela and the Coming South African Revolution. Video showing of interview with Mandela during his historic North American tour. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 1, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Africa Called, Cuba Answered. Video excerpts on Cuba's role in defending Angola against South African invasion. Speaker: Steve Marshall, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Aug. 26, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Inside Cuba Today. Slideshow by Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from reporting trip to Cuba for *Militant*. Sat., Sept. 8, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

CANADA

Montréal

The Rights of Natives, Québécois, and Blacks: One Single Struggle Against National Oppression and Racism in Canada. Class series: "The Development of Capitalism and the Birth of Racism," Fri., Aug. 24, 7 p.m.; "The Victory of Québécois and Natives Against the Meech Lake Accord," Fri., Aug. 31, 7 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

From Châteauguay to South Africa: The Origins of Racism. Sat., Sept. 1, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Vancouver

The Rights of Natives, Québécois, and Blacks: One Single Struggle Against National Oppression and Racism in Canada. Class on "Victory of Québécois and Natives Against the Meech Lake Accord." Sun., Aug. 26, 7 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2913 Green-

U.S. troops out of Mideast! Hands off Iraq!

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Speaker: Elizabeth Kealy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

FLORIDA

Miami

Speakers: Jackie Floyd, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Florida governor; Lavarice Gauden, Haitian rights activist; Billy Hardemon, People United for Justice; Zena McFadden, striking member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 702 at Eastern Airlines. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Speaker: Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 1. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Speakers: representative, Socialist Workers Party; Chris Abboud, U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent born in Kuwait. Sun., Aug. 26, 7 p.m. 407½ N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

Speakers: Alan Dale, Emergency Committee on Persian Gulf; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Speaker: Ruth Robinett, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 7-776. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Speakers: Bassem Saleh, president, Omaha General Union of Palestinian Students; Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 22; Talonia Jansen, student activist; and greetings from Hafeni Hatutale, South West Africa People's Organisation. Sat., Aug. 25, 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Speakers: Georges Mehrabian, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 10th C.D., member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-575; others. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Speakers: Susan Anmuth, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor and striking Machinist at Eastern Airlines; Luis Madrid, editor *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Panel discussion. Sat., Aug. 25, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Speaker: David Anshen, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Aug. 25, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

BRITAIN

London

Speaker: representative of the Communist League. Fri., Aug. 31, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Tel: 71-928-7947.

CANADA

Montréal

Speaker: Joanne Pritchard, Communist League, member Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto

Speaker: Joe Young, Communist League candidate in Ontario provincial elections, member International Association of Machinists. Sat., Aug. 25, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Federal Election Commission ruling on rights

Continued from Page 11
store and campaign headquarters of an SWP mayoral candidate in Atlanta in May 1985.

You also make reference to local government harassment of persons distributing SWP campaign literature. In April, 1988, an SWP gubernatorial candidate in West Virginia was ordered to remove his literature table in a public park by an officer who, according to the affidavit of the candidate, stated words to the effect of, "I don't like what you have on your table and I order you to take it down." You cite two examples, one in 1986 in Masontown, Pennsylvania, and one in 1987 in Newark, New Jersey, of persons distributing and selling SWP literature who were arrested and convicted for violating peddlers' ordinances. On appeal, these convictions were overturned on First Amendment grounds.

You submit a number of documents pertaining to threats, harassment, and violence during the past 10 years in Miami against individuals associated with left-wing views, including the 1983 fire-bombing of the Militant Book Store, which served as a local SWP office. You state that the incidents set forth in these exhibits were submitted to the court in *McArthur v. Smith* (1989), in which the court decided that certain Florida campaign disclosure laws were unconstitutional as applied to the SWP in Miami's nonpartisan mayoral race. In that case, although the state

of Florida contested the probability of threats by government officials, "[t]he parties mutually conclude[d] . . . that no material issue of fact exists regarding the danger in Miami of publicly associating with the SWP."

Based on the foregoing information, it appears that, during the past five years, the SWP has continued to experience harassment from several sources. The recent events cited, along with the history of governmental harassment, indicate that there is a reasonable probability that compelled disclosure of the names, addresses, occupations, and names of employers of those categories of persons listed in the 1979 and 1985 consent agreements will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from governmental or private sources. The Commission, therefore, grants the committees supporting the candidates of the SWP the exemption provided for in the consent agreements. Consistent with the length of the exemption granted in the original 1979 court decree, this exemption is to last through the next two presidential year election cycles, i.e. until Dec. 31, 1996. At least sixty days prior to Dec. 31, 1996, the SWP may submit a new advisory opinion request seeking a renewal of the exemption. If a request is submitted, the Commission will consider the factual information then presented as to harassment after 1989, or the lack thereof, and will make a decision at that time as to the renewal.

The Commission emphasizes that the committees supporting the federal office candidates of the SWP must still comply with all of the remaining requirements of the Act and Commission regulations. As provided for in the consent agreements, the committees must file reports containing the information required by [law] with the exception of the information specifically exempted, and the committees must keep and maintain records as required under [the law] with sufficient accuracy so as to be able to provide information, otherwise exempt from disclosure, in connection with a Commission investigation. In addition to complying with the requirements of the decrees, the committees must file all reports required under [the law] in a timely manner. The committees must also comply with the provisions of the Act governing the organization and registration of political committees. Adherence to the disclaimer provisions of [the law] is also required. Finally, the committees must comply with the Act's contribution limitations and prohibitions.

This response constitutes an advisory opinion concerning application of the Act, or regulations prescribed by the Commission, to the specific transaction or activity set forth in your request.

Sincerely,
Lee Ann Elliott
Chairman for the
Federal Election Commission

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How did that get by? — "The United States has not sent troops to the Saudi desert to preserve democratic principles. . . . This is about money, about protecting govern-



Harry Ring

ments loyal to America, and about who will set the price of oil." — Thomas Friedman, *New York Times*, August 12.

Practically on the front line — Some of his advisers felt it might

appear unseemly for Bush to be vacating while GIs are encamping in a 120° desert. But the prez assures he's on top of the situation and has sophisticated communications equipment, including telephones in his golf cart and speedboat.

Obscenity, Inc. — The pilot, navigator, and bombardier of the plane that dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima are touring the country peddling T-shirts, coffee mugs, and other memorabilia of the 1945 bombing, which claimed some 100,000 Japanese lives. Says the pilot, retired Brig. Gen. Paul Tibbets, Jr., "It's simply supply and demand."

Sleep well, general — A significant number of the Japanese who

were exposed prenatally to the radiation of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki blasts have suffered mental retardation. Their problems became apparent as they entered school, reports a team of U.S. medical scientists, and, "as they grew older, employment was limited or nonexistent. Some were institutionalized."

Would have rolled 'em in the aisles — For a week, Continental Express had lecturers on economics and stand-up comedians entertaining passengers on their 17-minute flight between Cleveland and Detroit. They should have hired Frank Lorenzo. He'd have been socko doing both roles at once.

With some they get tough — Officials are going after delinquent student loans, grabbing tax refunds and garnisheeing wages. They admit many aren't paying because of low wages. But, they fret, the defaults might finally total \$100 million. Stack that against the \$150 billion, minimum, thrift bailout and you wonder if those students took the wrong course.

National security? — A study found that in areas of Britain, children are getting dioxin in their milk at five times the level at which urgent action should be taken to reduce intake. The government is taking urgent action. It's trying to suppress the year-old report.

A puzzle — Chronic fatigue is said to be one of the 10 most common reasons why people see a doctor. It had been believed that the condition was caused by a virus, but current findings indicate this is not so. Researchers are pursuing the problem.

The march of civilization — It's described as quick, comfortable, and safe. An electric nose hair trimmer. Battery included, \$19.95.

The egalitarian society — A University of California survey of a thousand leading corporations found that 97 percent of their top executives were male and more than 99 percent were white.

Socialist workers conclude 35th nat'l convention

Continued from Page 4

bativity among workers in the 1945-46 strike wave. This upsurge threatened to resurrect the massive social movement that gave rise to the industrial unions in the 1930s.

The U.S. rulers leaned on the trade union bureaucracy that developed to keep workers in the United States from playing an independent role in U.S. and world politics, and to get them to accept war as the ultimate instrument of Washington's policy, Barnes said.

"The workers, who were supposed to stay away from politics, keep their organizations from being involved in politics, stay out of social movements, and ultimately support and be willing to fight and die for 'American democracy,' will not do so," he said. The Eastern Airlines strike is one indication that the labor movement has fought its way back

to the center of U.S. and world politics.

It is the failure of the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and of the trade unions in United States to impose on working people a course away from struggle and political consciousness that we celebrate, the SWP leader said.

"The most important factor in the world today," the SWP leader concluded, "is the coming forward of rank-and-file fighters and of revolutionists that are the material out of which the communist movement will be constructed." No one can predict how future revolutionary developments and patterns will unfold, he said, but the entering into politics by new working-class forces on a world scale opens historic opportunities for the communist movement.

The struggle against apartheid

Barnes discussed the impact of the anti-apartheid struggle led by Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress in South Africa in this context. He explained how this battle interacts with struggles elsewhere and made it possible for Mandela to get the massive reception he did across in the United States. "It's changing the world," he said.

The SWP leader pointed to the success of Mandela and the ANC in keeping the initiative and moral high ground in negotiations with the South African regime on the dismantling of apartheid.

Mandela's perspective has been to fight for the political space in which the ANC could be rebuilt inside South Africa and to provide the political leadership necessary to advance the masses in their struggle to defeat apartheid, the SWP leader said.

Greg McCartan, a leader of the SWP who recently traveled to South Africa as part of a reporting team for the *Militant*, presented a report on the coming revolution there. He reviewed the nature of the apartheid system and state, the revolutionary perspectives of the Freedom Charter of the ANC, and the leadership of the ANC and Mandela.

"Mandela is reaching out to the world leading tens of millions into real politics," McCartan said. "Mandela is seeking to educate, mobilize, and organize tens of millions into the ANC, into the unions, and other democratic organizations. He is fighting for the ANC to speak in the name of the majority."

The overthrow of the apartheid regime, "this enemy of humanity, will have a deeply revolutionary, politicizing impact on working people in the imperialist countries the world over," McCartan concluded.

Aaron Ruby, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, reviewed the history of the Nicaraguan revolution and the erosion and overturn of the workers' and farmer's government in Nicaragua in a report to the convention.

"Today we have the task of joining with and defending the toilers of Nicaragua," Ruby said. "We defend Nicaragua's sovereignty as U.S. imperialism seeks to reestablish its dominance in all spheres of Nicaraguan society."

"Out of the coming class battles in Nicaragua," he said, "the workers and peasants will fight their way back into politics."

A party of worker-Bolsheviks

Mary Alice-Waters, editor of the Marxist theoretical magazine *New International* and

a leader of the SWP, discussed the tasks and challenges for the party in the final convention report.

For the first time since the SWP began basing its political work among industrial workers and in industrial unions over a decade ago, Waters said, "we have genuinely begun to confidently and effectively function as a party of worker-Bolsheviks who are engaged in real politics from within the working class."

Waters was referring to the SWP's active

participation in the Machinists strike against Eastern Airlines and the recent coal miners' strike against Pittston Coal as part of the rank-and-file fighters that have emerged in these struggles.

Waters then reviewed perspectives for the party's work in the coming months — from socialist election campaigns and plant-gate sales of the socialist press to the functioning of SWP branches and the winning of new members to the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

Israeli government uses Soviet Jews against Arabs

Continued from Page 14

But in redefining the borders the government used time-tested gerrymandering techniques, excluding entire communities of Palestinian residents of Jerusalem from the city.

On the West Bank land added to the city, housing tracts reserved for Jewish settlers continue to be built. The settlers number about 120,000, a third of the city's Jewish population. The Soviet immigrants are now being moved into these settlements.

The Palestinian population of Jerusalem is said to number some 150,000. In the areas excluded from the city, there are another 250,000 Palestinians.

Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza have no rights under Israeli law. Those who live in Jerusalem are semicitizens of Israel. They are permitted to vote in municipal elections — a "right" that few choose to exercise — but they cannot hold national office or vote in national elections.

Unlike their West Bank and Gaza brothers and sisters who have to be out of town by sundown, Jerusalem Palestinians do have the right to stay over in other Israeli cities.

When it comes to public services in Jerusalem, Palestinian communities consistently get the short end of the stick, as do Palestinian towns and villages throughout Israel.

The Palestinian uprising in the West Bank has had a deep and visible impact on East Jerusalem Palestinians. Solidarity demonstrations with the uprising have been met with fierce attacks from Israeli forces. Entire East Jerusalem communities have been put under military curfew.

An influx of Soviet Jewish immigrants into East Jerusalem will surely deepen the social tensions that grip the city.

Labor news in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss them if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2.

ANC responds to rise in violence

Continued from back page

ANC, these moves have isolated Buthelezi and exposed his collaboration with the apartheid government.

In a mid-July meeting Inkatha resolved to transform the organization "into a political party," and to "open Inkatha's membership to all race groups."

The meeting called on the ANC to "lay down the armed struggle, to abandon its call for sanctions, to abandon the politics of confrontation in South Africa, and to seek to be reconciled to other political parties for the sake of South Africa."

The move was welcomed by the right-wing press, and the meeting was attended by leaders of the ruling National Party. The *Citizen*, noted "it is time it [Inkatha] broadened its base," so that Buthelezi's "moderate voice is heard in the politics of this country." The paper added, "We are pleased that a powerful black organization now poses a challenge, politically, to the African National Congress."

"No party can ignore Inkatha or the Zulu people," a leader of the National Party told the gathering. "The chief minister has proved himself to be a champion of peace, we did not listen to him in the past but we admit

today he was right," he said.

The escalating attacks are also giving the big-business press a handle to mount a campaign to discredit the ANC.

"The savagery in the townships is an indictment not only of the participants but also of those who profess to offer leadership," the South African daily *Star* commented. "Either they cannot control their people or the people are a law unto themselves and the so-called leaders are not leaders of anything at all."

As the death toll rose, Inkatha spokesman Mbongeni Khumalo claimed the violence was not political, but tribal, and said his organization was nonviolent.

Fighting to forge a united movement of all who are opposed to apartheid, the ANC leadership's statement explained, "Yes, we might have political differences. Yes, we belong to different political organizations. Yes, we do not speak one language. Yes, we do come from different parts of the country. But this should be the basis for our unity, not for violent conflict among the people."

"We can and must debate, yes. But butchering one another will not take anyone anywhere. Every Black life lost prolongs the period of our suffering."

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

80 CENTS

Aug. 29, 1980

August 19 marks the infamous anniversary of the 1953 CIA-backed coup that returned the shah of Iran to power and crushed the aspirations of the Iranian masses for freedom.

In their fight for freedom from imperialist domination in the early 1950s, the Iranian people focused their demands around nationalization of the oil industry, the country's major economic asset, which at that time was owned and controlled by the British.

Millions of dollars flowed from the Iranian oil fields, while 80 percent of the population suffered from chronic malnutrition and oil workers lived in caves and mud huts.

Hatred for the British government mounted. On April 30, 1951, the Iranian parliament elected Mohammad Mossadegh, one of the most prominent advocates of oil nationalization, as prime minister. The next day the state nationalized the oil industry.

Immediately the British prepared a counterattack to this blow to their economic domination of Iran. Some 4,000 paratroopers and naval forces were rushed in close to Iran's

borders and seacoast.

Like the policy of the Carter administration today, the British government ordered all Iranian deposits in British banks frozen and imposed an embargo on oil purchases from Iran to strangle its economy.

As a result, between 1951 and 1953 Iran exported 103,000 tons of oil — less than it exported in a single day prior to nationalization.

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U.S. troops in Vietnam are committing atrocities against civilians: burning villages; murdering women, children, and old people; killing the water buffalo the farmers depend on; and destroying crops.

U.S. marines burned down the village of Camne near Danang, ignoring pleas of the villagers to be allowed to remove their belongings. The marines destroyed the village using rockets, grenades, flame throwers, and machine guns, and set some fires with cigarette lighters.

Labor Day can aid IAM strike

Labor Day activities are just around the corner, and Eastern strikers throughout the country are gearing up to participate.

The strike at Eastern Airlines should be a centerpiece of every Labor Day activity that takes place. Labor Day can be an occasion for the unions to stand tall and celebrate the gains already made through the strike as well as the fact that the strike is heading toward a victorious conclusion.

By now throwing its full power behind the strike, the labor movement can help the Eastern strikers secure that victory with union jobs and a union contract.

The 18-month strike by the International Association of Machinists against Eastern has dealt blows to the employers' antunion drive and scored some significant victories, which have strengthened the labor movement and will benefit all working people.

Throughout the strike, the Machinists have maintained their picket lines and have won worldwide support for their battle.

Their efforts have virtually brought the carrier to its knees. The airline has lost hundreds of millions of dollars over the course of the strike, and Eastern's passenger load has consistently fallen well below what is needed just to break even.

Criminal charges against Eastern for safety violations in July were yet another blow, making it the first U.S. airline in history to be criminally indicted.

Building on his victory in busting the unions at Continental Airlines in 1983, Frank Lorenzo had set a course —

called the "reign of terror" by Eastern strikers — to bust the unions at Eastern and add the carrier to his Texas Air Corp. empire, making it one of the largest airlines in the world.

If Lorenzo had been successful, this would have encouraged the rest of the employing class to deepen its assault on the labor movement. But the Machinists brought Lorenzo down instead.

First the strike forced Lorenzo out of the day-to-day operation of Eastern in April, when the bankruptcy court replaced him with a trustee, Martin Shugrue.

Now, Lorenzo is selling his stock in Continental Holdings Inc. to Scandinavian Airlines System, and is on his way out of the airline industry altogether. These events mark an important gain for all airline workers and for the labor movement as a whole.

From the beginning, the Machinists strike received the official backing of the AFL-CIO. It won additional solidarity from among trade unions in the U.S. and internationally.

Millions of workers who have had firsthand experience with concession contracts, union-busting and attacks on their living standard and working conditions immediately recognized the stakes were high, and took on the fight as their own.

Labor Day will provide an excellent vehicle for unions to pledge a redoubling of their efforts to expand support for this important labor battle and bring the fight to its final victory.

Why Stalinist regimes couldn't stop pollution

BY DOUG JENNESS

Large areas of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are plagued by the spread of poisonous gases and toxic dust as the result of industrial pollution. Tens of millions of people live and work in hazardous conditions. This is the story that is now coming out in the wake of the massive upheavals that have toppled most of the Communist Party-dominated regimes in the region.

Throughout the coal-mining areas and the industrial towns of Eastern Europe, the scope of the environmental disaster is staggering. Poland's pollution is considered the worst. The Polish Academy of Sciences today says a third of the population live in "areas of ecological disaster." The

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

toll is heavy as cases of cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and child illnesses have sharply risen.

In Bulgaria a Communist Party report says that about 60 percent of the land is now damaged as a result of industrial fallout and extensive use of pesticides and other chemicals.

Moreover, the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are haunted by the disastrous explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in the Ukraine four years ago. This was by far the most severe nuclear accident that has yet occurred, and the contamination of air and soil continue to be a deadly threat to tens of thousands of residents.

Do these environmental horrors mean that overturning capitalist rule, nationalizing basic industry, and establishing planned economies won't bring an end to ecological destruction?

The facts clearly show that overturning capitalist political rule and expropriating the capitalist class are not sufficient to reverse the degradation of our environment. They are a prerequisite, however, to accomplishing this. As I explained in last week's column, the profit drive of the capitalists inevitably leads to sapping the original sources of all wealth — labor and nature.

Working people can, through struggle, bring considerable pressure to bear on the employing class to institute more antipollution controls and safety measures. But as long as the capitalist profit system continues to exist all advances by working people are continually under attack and are insecure and liable to be reversed. The anarchy and destructiveness of the capitalist system has to be destroyed before a serious effort can be started to clean up the mess left by the profiteers and before new steps made to protect the environment. Safeguarding the environment is totally intertwined with the struggle of workers and farmers to overturn capitalism.

The end of capitalist rule eliminates the business cycle and gets rid of distribution according to the blind laws of the market. For the first time in human history it becomes possible to consciously organize and plan the economy on the basis of the needs of the great majority.

The social product can be apportioned so that substantially more funds can be used for rehabilitating the environment and for installing machinery and processes that are not polluting, or are far less so.

In his book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, Cuban writer Carlos Tablada noted that Guevara's view was, "The effectiveness of the plan can't be evaluated solely by whether or not it improves economic management and, therefore, augments the goods available to society. Nor can it be evaluated by the earnings obtained in the production process."

"The real measure of the plan's effectiveness," he said, "lies in its potential to improve economic management in terms of advancing toward the central objective: communist society. In other words, the true gauge lies in the plan's ability to combine what is rational socially with what is rational economically."

This is the opposite of the policy carried out by the Stalinist bureaucratic castes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Their maxim was to subordinate everything to "economic growth" and "industrial development" while they skimmed off a huge chunk of the social product for themselves. They drove working people in the city and country out of political life and despoiled the environment through bureaucratic mismanagement.

But the transition to a communist society can only come through conscious effort, through the activity of socially and politically conscious men and women. Economic decisions have to be made in conjunction with steps that will reduce social inequalities, get rid of discriminatory policies based on race and sex, and protect and upgrade the health and safety of working people and the environment.

In a country where capitalist property relations have been overturned, the fight to clean up the environment will not happen automatically anymore than eliminating racism will. It is connected to the same conscious effort that is needed to move toward communist society.

The most uncompromising and politically conscious fighters for protecting the environment will become part of the communist movement, both in capitalist countries and those countries where state property relations exist.

Prison guards riot at Rikers

On August 5 in the early morning hours a group of Rikers Island prison guards initiated a blockade of the bridge leading to the New York City prison. They kept all traffic from entering and exiting the prison for more than 36 hours. The guard demands centered around the relaxation of the rules against the use of force by guards against prisoners. The guards claimed they were the victims of abuse. The reality is the opposite.

The action was rowdy, guards openly drank beer and some of them flashed their guns. When an Emergency Medical Service vehicle tried to cross the bridge, responding to a call, bottles were thrown at it, the windows smashed, and EMS workers were beaten. The city police stationed in full view of this looked on and did nothing.

In the evening of the following day, Phil Seelig, the representative of the guards, arrived on the scene fresh from negotiations with New York City's Mayor David Dinkins' office. Seelig announced that the guards had won all their demands. He got an especially loud cheer when he stated that the "use of force" directive had been relaxed. Thus liberated the guards ended the blockade. Cheering and shouting "We are number one!" they rushed back into the prison, they said to quell a disturbance that had broken out inside. Their real intent was murderous assault on the prisoners. Their riot left 142 inmates injured and one dead.

The fact that a rampage occurred was not a surprise to those near the situation even if its dimensions and blatant ferocity might have been. One guard said openly to a *Newsday* reporter earlier in the day, "This is going to be a blood bath; there are hotheads on both sides of the fence," maintaining the lie that there is equivalence between the position of the guards and prisoners. Prisoners who could get to phones had predicted violence and called out for help all day.

Those visitors who entered the prison the next day walked through a corridor smeared with the blood. The clothing of the prisoners was laying in the center of the corridor. The prisoners had been forced to disrobe before they were beaten. Medical personnel from surrounding hospitals told

the press of the dozens and dozens of injured prisoners that poured into the hospitals that night with head and hand injuries. One man's finger was almost severed.

The facts of this case expose the reality of this country's prison system. A reality that grows more grim as the crisis of world capitalism deepens and the capitalist rulers seek to solve their problems through more reliance on repression and violence. Their answer is to employ more police and put more and more working people behind bars for longer and longer periods of time. The number of prisoners in federal prisons alone has doubled since 1980.

In 1987 there were well over 800,000 people behind bars in state and federal prisons plus local jails such as Rikers Island. The conditions that the prisoners are held in continues to deteriorate.

The prison system has nothing to do with the dispensation of justice or rehabilitation. It is simply an instrument of terror and punishment used against working people who make up the vast majority of inmates. Prisons are a threat held over the head of every worker involved in a strike or who is fighting for their rights.

The ruling class hires those who are brutal enough to carry out the job. Sometimes these hired guns go too far and cause embarrassment for those in power who wish they would be more discreet. For this they might get a slap on the wrist.

The Rikers prison guards operate under the cloak of being a union and claim to have some connection to the labor movement. This is not true. Prison guards like other cops voluntarily take jobs in which they act daily and callously against the interests of workers and farmers. In doing this they place themselves outside of the working class and, even more importantly, act as mercenaries of the ruling rich. They do not deserve the support of working people.

Working people should condemn the barbarous actions of the guards along with the complicity of the Dinkins administration. We should demand that all those involved in this contemptible incident be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

Protest threats against Iraq!

Continued from front page

the boot of colonial and semicolonial domination recognize the bombers, troop transport planes, warships, fighter jets, and tanks arriving in the area as the weapons of an occupying army, not a force defending democracy.

Working people in the cities and countryside of the region see the reactionary semifeastal regimes, such as the one overthrown in Kuwait, as serving the interests of a small handful of super-rich ruling families in Europe and North America — especially those who own the big oil companies. Tens of millions of toilers have fought for democratic rights, national sovereignty, control of the wealth of the region, and freedom from neocolonial domination *against* imperialist military forces and U.S.-backed governments.

Today they correctly see the "world cop" going into action to perpetuate the domination of the region's workers and farmers and the plunder of its natural resources by the imperialists. That is why a U.S. invasion of Iraq will spread

to a wider war throughout the Middle East.

Working people in North America have also been the target of a decade-long offensive by the employers and the government who have driven millions into poverty, cut basic social programs, driven down wages and safety on the job, busted unions, and sought to push back or reverse hard-won democratic rights.

The super-rich families who run the U.S. and the government that serves them do want to protect *their* world from a "fundamental evil" — workers and farmers fighting and defending their rights, working conditions, and wages against the employer's assaults. This is true whether it be in the Arab East, at Eastern Airlines, in the coal mines, or on a family farm.

Unionists, farmers, students, and all those opposed to U.S. intervention abroad should demand: U.S. out of the Arab East! Hands off Iraq! End the blockade and embargo of Iraq! Bring the troops home now!

Books break stereotype of idyllic Pacific Islands

Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific by Peter Hampenstall and Noel Rutherford. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1984, 200 pp.

Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific by David Robie. Zed Books (Britain and the United States), Pluto Press Australia (Australia and New Zealand), 1989, 313 pp.

BY JOAN PHILLIPS

On May 14, 1987, a military coup overthrew the government of the South Pacific island country of Fiji. Fijians had just elected a Labour Party-led coalition government. A year later, French colonial military and secret service forces stormed a cave on Ouvéa, one of New Caledonia's outlying islands, where indigenous Kanak independence

activists were holding several hostages. Nineteen Kanaks were killed in the attack.

These two events were headline news around the world. Despite this, the popular image of the South Pacific continues to be of a region of untroubled idyllic island paradises. Such a picture makes it impossible to understand what lies behind events such as those in Fiji and New Caledonia or the widespread sentiment that exists in the region for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific.

Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific and *Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific* break through the stereotypes.

In the 19th century, colonial penetration by capitalist Europe and North America had become the major influence on economic and social evolution in the South Pacific. *Protest and Dissent* describes the responses of Pacific Islanders — both indigenous ruling elites and common people — as their traditional societies changed under the impact of colonial penetration, and as they struggled for some share

The authors note this resistance took different forms: political protest, the formation of economic cooperatives to bypass European traders and middlemen, strikes and the formation of trade unions, violent action, and the rise of millenarian religious movements.

Today only two imperialist powers, France and the United States, retain direct colonies in the region, while East Timor and West Papua have been incorporated — by force — into Indonesia. Only the newly independent island country of Vanuatu was forced to survive a violent struggle to achieve independence. Vanuatu was formerly the colony of New Hebrides.

David Robie, who is a New Zealand journalist, describes the independence of Vanuatu in 1980 as "the turning point in the politics of the region," heralding "a new era of growing conflict and uncertainty."

In *Blood on Their Banner*, Robie traces the rise of the modern independence movement in New Caledonia. He visited the French colony frequently throughout the 1980s, covering such events as the 1984 colonial election boycott by the Kanak independence movement, the massacre of Kanak activists at Hienghène, the assassination of Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front leader Éloi Machoro, and the 1988 Ouvéa uprising.

Blood on Their Banner hits on the close link between independence struggles in the Pacific and the fight to make the region nuclear-free. Robie describes the impact of U.S. and French nuclear weapons testing in the region and the response of these imperialist powers to growing antinuclear sentiment. This includes the pressure exerted by Washington on the Micronesian island of Belau to drop the nuclear-free provisions in its constitution, and the bombing of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* by French secret service agents. The Greenpeace activists were about to embark on a protest against a French underground nuclear test.

And the books shed light on political developments in Fiji over the last three years.

The island became a British colony in 1874. From 1879 to 1920 thousands of indentured laborers from India were brought to Fiji to work on sugar plantations. Most indigenous Fijians remained outside the wages system, working as subsistence peasants in the villages under the control of the traditional chiefs. By the 1950s, however, young indigenous Fijians had begun drifting into the towns, especially Suva, the capital. In 1959 a strike broke out among oil workers that brought together Indo-Fijians and indigenous Fijian workers and unemployed for the first time.

Britain ruled Fiji primarily through the country's chiefs. A united Indo-Fijian and indigenous Fijian working class was a threat to the chiefly elite and they moved quickly to end the mass protests in solidarity with the strike. Once the strike ended in a negotiated settlement, the chiefs set up racially segregated trade unions.

In 1970 Britain and the chiefs drew up a constitution for an independent Fiji that contained a racially segregated electoral system. Under this system the chief-dominated Alliance Party ruled until its defeat by a Labour Party-led coalition in 1987.

The Fiji Labour Party, led by an indigenous Fijian, Timoci Bavadra, and backed by the trade union movement, was the country's first genuinely multiracial political party. Its program called for social reforms; a nonaligned, antinuclear foreign policy; and an end to entrenched racial divisions.

Blood on Their Banner deals extensively with the 1987 reactionary coups in Fiji and their aftermath. "Bavadra and his Labour Party-led coalition had shown a way out of the racial straitjacket of the constitution," Robie explains. "They had changed the political emphasis from race to the issues of economic class, social justice, and common interest. This the Fijian oligarchy refused to accept. Ironically, it is the indigenous Fijian commoners, as well as the poor Indo-Fijians, who are the biggest losers from the coups."

Both *Protest and Dissent* and *Blood on Their Banner* are available at the Pathfinder bookstores in Australia and New Zealand listed on page 16.

IN REVIEW

activists were holding several hostages. Nineteen Kanaks were killed in the attack.

These two events were headline news around the world. Despite this, the popular image of the South Pacific continues to be of a region of untroubled idyllic island paradises. Such a picture makes it impossible to understand what lies behind events such as those in Fiji and New Caledonia or the widespread sentiment that exists in the region for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific.

Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific and *Blood on Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific* break through the stereotypes.

In the 19th century, colonial penetration by capitalist Europe and North America had become the major influence on economic and social evolution in the South Pacific. *Protest and Dissent* describes the responses of Pacific Islanders — both indigenous ruling elites and common people — as their traditional societies changed under the impact of colonial penetration, and as they struggled for some share



LETTERS

Anger about war

A conversation I had with two coworkers says a lot about the anger that continues to simmer in the working class.

One coworker, who is Black, commented that he did not think that the official total of 55,000 U.S. GIs killed in Vietnam was accurate. Too many families were affected for the number to be so small.

Another coworker, who is Puerto Rican, explained he comes from a family of 16 children. His father retired after a lifetime of service in the U.S. military. Four of his brothers are pilots in the U.S. Air Force. Two others, both marines, were killed in Vietnam on the same day — one in the morning and one in the afternoon.

For a long time, his brothers were listed as missing in action (MIA). Later one coffin was sent home to Puerto Rico with the U.S. flag on it. It is a violation of federal law to remove that flag, but my coworker's father wanted to see something of his son's remains. He took off the flag, opened the coffin, and found rocks.

He was taken to court and, during the proceedings, lost his temper,

using very rough language against the U.S. government, the attorneys, and the judge. He was sentenced to 10 years of which he served five.

To this day my coworker's brothers are not listed on the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., since they are officially listed as MIA.

John Votava
Chicago, Illinois

From Tehran

During the past few months, rents in Tehran have increased 40 percent to 50 percent. Government-funded housing projects have decreased, while thousands of new privately owned apartment complexes are going up.

Pollution gets worse every day. The Iranian government no longer announces the daily levels of pollution for different poisonous substances. Heavy traffic is said to be the main source of pollution, but public transportation is inadequate and fares have risen 25 percent to 50 percent.

Nice restaurants, swimming pools, and other special privileges are growing for the rich and middle class, while the poverty-stricken ghettos in South Tehran get a smaller share of housing, education, and parks.

The earthquake north of here in the Gilan region brought about a great disaster. Unlike the days of the revolution, there were no neighborhood committees to organize people of other cities to come to help.

One interesting thing was the great amount of support given by Soviet Azerbaijanis. Hundreds of buses with medical supplies, doctors, and technicians arrived in the earthquake region.

Many Soviet Azerbaijanis have come to Iran to find their old homes. They cry for days. Newspapers carry ads for missing persons. People from both Azerbaijanis are looking for relatives with whom they lost contact years ago.

H.H.
Tehran, Iran

Railroad 'bonuses'

I thoroughly enjoyed reading the "Union Talk" column on the defeat

of the proposed crew-consist agreement on the Union Pacific in the Southwest. (July 13 *Militant*). Score one for our side!

I think, however, that the use of the word "bonus" to describe the arbitrarieties that have been taken away from new hires could be misleading. These payments are not really bonuses, or "extras." They are payments that workers have won over decades of struggle that actually represent *penalties* levied against the employers for abuses of our time or for playing favorites in work assignments. Initial terminal delay payments, runarounds, deadheads, etc. are all designed to guard us from the carriers' infringement on our time in violation of negotiated standards.

While some workers use arbitrarieties as a way to increase their income, just like some workers hope for overtime work to make more money, they are not intended for that purpose. Defending arbitrarieties, for all railroad employees, is part of holding our ground against corporate greed and recklessness.

Robbie Scherr
Seattle, Washington

Mandela tours

As a new subscriber, I look forward each week to the informative, well-written articles of the *Militant*. As a member of ANC Aotearoa, a

New Zealand support group for the African National Congress, I especially look forward to the articles following Nelson Mandela's visits around the world.

I was surprised, therefore, to note the apparent lack of knowledge of the ANC and the role Mandela plays within the organization in the July 13 article "Thousands in Ireland greet Nelson Mandela."

Throughout the article Mandela is referred to as the "ANC leader" and the article even goes so far as to call the ANC "Mandela's organization." To suggest this is both misleading to paper's readers and disrespectful to Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC.

Especially with the current situation, I felt this was important to bring to your attention. I look forward to supporting the *Militant* in the future.

Marianna Tortell
Wellington, New Zealand

Rights for the blind

Recently I attended the 50th convention of the National Federation of the Blind. The NFB is a civil rights organization with 50,000 members and is the largest grouping of the blind.

The convention in Dallas was attended by 3,000 people who cheered victories and vowed to continue to fight for equal opportunity for the blind. Two issues drew special interest: air travel rights and the de-

plorable conditions in so-called sheltered workshops.

For years the blind have been subject to arrest and harassment by the airlines: forcibly preboarded, their canes removed, corralled into special holding pens, and denied the seat of their choice. The airlines falsely claim blind people are unsafe in an emergency, despite studies and actual situations demonstrating otherwise.

The federation also stepped up its opposition to sweatshop conditions in the "sheltered workshops" and its call for their unionization. Seventy percent of legally blind people are unemployed due to discrimination against them. About 20 percent are forced to take up work in these workshops where they are paid sub-human wages of \$2 an hour making brooms or caning chairs. The government allows the operators of these sweatshops to get away with this under the guise of rehabilitation, continuing the poverty that most blind people suffer.

Baxter Smith
Baltimore, Maryland

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

ANC responds to rise in violence against anti-apartheid activists

BY GREG McCARTAN

Responding to a sharp rise in the number of anti-apartheid activists and others killed or wounded in recent political confrontations, the South African government and the African National Congress announced the formation of a "peace forum" August 16 in which leaders of political organizations and the police can discuss ways to deescalate the clashes.

At least 220 people died in just over a week as a result of police attacks on peaceful protests and assaults mounted in Black townships by supporters of Inkatha, a political organization with ties to the apartheid regime. Inkatha is based in Natal Province and is headed by Gatsha Buthelezi, the chief minister of the nominally self-governing KwaZulu Bantustan.

In the southern city of Port Elizabeth police dispersed demonstrators protesting rent increases. A police spokesman admitted that many of the 42 people who died in the ensuing protests had been shot by security forces.

In Black townships around Johannesburg scores of deaths have been reported following fighting between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC. In several cases supporters of Inkatha living in single-sex dormitory dwellings in the townships — called hostels — have been incited to attack township residents.

The South African government ordered troops into these areas to back up police units. The ANC charged the police where siding with Inkatha, since many of those killed in the townships died of high velocity gunshot wounds. In Thokoza residents reported police fired tear gas and shotguns at township residents at close range.

"Elements of the state's security services are employing the tactics they used in the countries of southern Africa" through collaborating with Inkatha to "bring about insecurity, fear, and a willingness to submit to draconian measures," an ANC statement said.

Following the meeting between ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and South African President F.W. de Klerk at which the

peace forum was established, the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) issued a statement calling for the "senseless carnage to stop."

Buthelezi refused to join the forum, demanding instead that Mandela join him in a public rally as a means to end the conflict. "Until respect for one another is observed, it will be difficult to obtain peace," Buthelezi said.

ANC-government talks

The police and Inkatha attacks followed a successful round of talks August 6 between the ANC and the government that registered the gains the anti-apartheid struggle has made over the past year.

Significant concessions demanded by the ANC were agreed to by the government. In a statement called the Pretoria Minute, the regime said it would review and repeal existing security legislation, release several categories of political prisoners, and grant an amnesty to thousands of political exiles, allowing them to return by October 1.

The measures — on top of the previous concessions by the government of unbanning the ANC and other political organizations, lifting the state of emergency in three of the country's four provinces, and ending restrictions on unions and anti-apartheid groups — have widened the ability of working people in the country to organize and press their demands.

Mandela announced the ANC would suspend the organization's armed struggle as a result of the regime's moves. The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation, was formed by Mandela in the early 1960s in response to the brutal crackdown by the apartheid regime on all forms of peaceful protest. As protests, strikes, and defiance campaigns have widened in the past several years — and the regime became more isolated internationally — the ANC began to wind down the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The way is now open to proceed toward negotiations on a new constitution," the Pre-



Militant/Margrethe Siem
Inkatha rally in Natal, South Africa. Some 220 people died in attacks by police and Inkatha in one week.

toria Minute said.

At a news conference following the talks Mandela demanded the government cease police repression of anti-apartheid activity across the country. "Until the government

tames the police we will continue to be dissatisfied," he said, adding that the campaigns of mass protests by anti-apartheid organizations will continue.

While negotiating with the ANC the regime is also seeking to win allies leading up to the full-scale negotiations among the officials who govern the 10 "self-governing" or "independent" Bantustans. These areas are designated as the sole legal residence of those defined as "African" by the regime. Over 50 percent of the African population is forced to reside in these impoverished areas that comprise only 13 percent of the country's land area.

While some Bantustan officials now side with the ANC, Buthelezi has openly collaborated with the apartheid government. Buthelezi, who is also the chief of the KwaZulu police, claims to be the leader of the Zulu people.

Protest Inkatha, police violence

Some 3,000 people have died in Natal over the past four years, many at the hands of Inkatha members and KwaZulu police, as Buthelezi has sought to maintain his political position and prevent the establishment of the ANC and organizations that support it in the region.

The conflict has been portrayed as "Black on Black violence," or a "tribal conflict" by the apartheid regime and the big-business media around the world. As facts surrounding the collaboration between the KwaZulu police, South African police, and Inkatha in these killings have come to light, pressure has mounted on the apartheid regime to disband the KwaZulu police force.

A massive one-day countrywide strike in early July, followed by a week of political meetings and protests, demanded the government take action to end the violence in Natal. Combined with the unbanning of the

Continued on Page 17

Strike by 16,000 steelworkers shuts 2 Canadian companies

BY BRIGITTE GROUX

TORONTO — Two major Canadian steel companies, Stelco Inc. and Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd., were shut down August 1 after 16,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) went out on strike. Ninety percent of the Steelworkers voted in favor of the strike against the two companies that together account for 54 percent of all steel production in Canada.

The Stelco strike involves 10,000 workers in nine plants in Ontario, Québec, and Alberta. At Algoma 6,000 Steelworkers in five union locals are on strike in several northern Ontario communities. Algoma's parent company, Dofasco, owns the largest Canadian nonunion steel mill, located in Hamilton, Ontario.

The union is fighting to prevent Stelco from imposing contracts plant by plant. Stelco President Fred Telmer explained that the company needed "separate contracts at Stelco's various mills and factories" to bring costs "in line with the competition's costs."

Up until now the company has refused to meet with the union's central bargaining committee. "The company just doesn't want to talk to us," said Clare Broadbridge, a veteran of a 125-day Stelco strike of 1981.

At one of Stelco's plants, in Gananoque, the company is threatening to shut down the plant if workers do not accept a wage freeze for the duration of the contract. Company representatives went door to door to pressure workers not to go on strike.

Strikers are particularly angry that Stelco moved \$900 million worth of steel out of the plants to some 52 locations before the strike started.

The first newsletter of the Local 1005 strike committee urges strikers to participate in secondary pickets set up at storage and warehouse facilities used by Stelco. "It is imperative that we maintain these secondary picket lines and help to win our strike," the newsletter explains.

Flying picket squads are handing out leaflets to truck drivers asking them to refuse to move the steel. "On strike! Don't move scab steel!" reads the leaflet. "The Union is asking for the support of all Unions, their members, and the citizens in the community by honoring our picket lines," it continues.

The Teamsters are honoring the secondary pickets with some phoning the strike headquarters when they get wind of efforts by Stelco to move the steel.

On August 4 two strikers were injured when a nonunion truck driver crashed

through a secondary picket line in Hagersville, Ontario.

At Stelco the striking Steelworkers are demanding the maintenance of their cost-of-living adjustment at its present level. The COLA is a "protection against inflation and we all know what will happen with the GST," explained Leo Gerard, Ontario director for the Steelworkers. The 7 percent new GST (goods and services tax) should take effect in January 1991.

Stelco's proposal will result in a cut of \$1.05 per hour in the COLA compared with what the current formula would produce. A striker at the Stelco Frostworks plant in Hamilton said, "Right now we have a classic COLA. The company wants to give us diet COLA."

At Algoma the company has refused to negotiate with the Steelworkers. In 1987 a 56 cent an hour pay cut was imposed on the union by the company.

Both at Stelco and Algoma, the only wage increases workers have won since 1981 have come from the COLA.

"The cost of living that we have fought for is there to stay," explained Nick, a member of Local 1005 at Stelco. "The company tries to get the union and forced us to go on strike, but we are prepared for it."